HUMAN EVENTS

YOUR WEEKLY WASHINGTON REPORT

THIRTY-FIVE CENTS

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NEWSPAPER

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Referendum Urged on Every Urban Renewal Project

The American citizen should be alert to the House bill which would go a long way toward restoring sovereignty to the people in local communities. Introduced as an amendment to the Housing Act of 1949, H. R. 7434 has a simple aim: Before any urban renewal project can be initiated, the people in the community affected must approve it by popular vote. The sponsor of H. R. 7434 is Rep. Burt Talcott (R.-Calif.), a member of the Committee on Banking and Currency which deals with housing legislation.

Surely nothing seems fairer than allowing local citizens to decide for themselves whether they wish to welcome urban renewal to their community, but federal planners are reported to be resisting the Talcott measure at every turn.

Even more disquieting is the fact that members of the Housing subcommittee of the Banking and Currency Committee are presently blocking the Talcott bill. Readers are urged to write their congressmen and the subcommittee members, urging them to act on this bill right away. (The list of the subcommittee members appears in a box below.)

While it is not readily understandable why some congressmen are slow to rally to support of the Talcott bill, it is easy to see why the federal urban planners are wincing at his proposal. City after city, to the horror of the bureaucrats, has turned down urban renewal projects when they have been put up to a vote. The record is full of communities which have vigorously rejected programs to raze perfectly good homes and toss respectable citizens out on the streets just to please the planners.

Only two weeks ago, Fort Worth inhabitants, with the aid of *Human Events* material, crushed a pet renewal project of the federal bureaucrats by a 4-to-1 vote—38,397 to 9,248.

The purpose of the Talcott bill is to make sure that every renewal program—not just some—has the approval of the community at large.

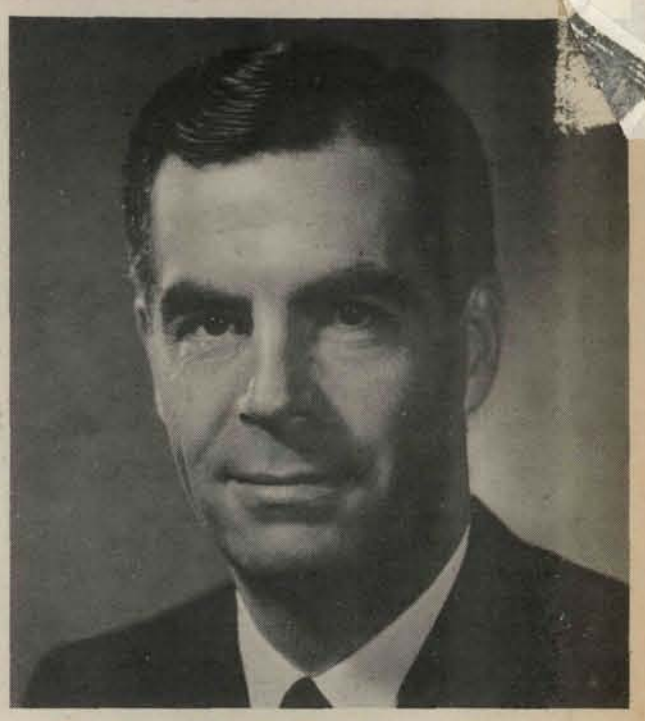
Rep. Talcott argues that he does not object to the principle of rebuilding our cities. But as a World War II pilot, once incarcerated in a Nazi prison, he has strong objections to the dictatorial habits of the urban renewal bureaucrats. Individual persons, he insists, are the most important ingredient of a community, but too often they are ignored.

Urban renewal, Talcott stresses, is not some free federal bonanza. We pay dearly for it—through federal taxes, community taxes, loss of home and loss of dignity for the individual. No doubt, says Talcott, enormous profits have been made under the program—but not for the community and the taxpayer.

The California congressman explains that the typical urban renewal project bulldozes homes out of existence—at least 126,000 between 1950 and 1960. Twenty-five thousand of these, he charges, were in good condition. In the 1950 decade, no more than 30,000 units were constructed in urban renewal project areas: 126,000 down, 30,000 up. Hardly a fair deal for the homeowner. Unfortunately for the dislocated families who must find a place to live, says Talcott, most of the 30,000 units which were constructed were far out of reach of their pocketbooks.

Over one million persons have been evicted from their homes as a result of urban renewal, remarks the Californian. And these displaced people usually move to homes with less space, worse conditions and higher rent.

This picture originally appeared on the front page of the Jan. 29, 1966, edition of the Monterey (Calif.) Peninsula Herald over the headline, "Deputies Carry Patanias from Renewal House." It shows Mrs. Sebastian Patania being carried on a chair by deputy sheriffs who are evicting her from her condemned house in an urban renewal project.



Rep. Burt Talcott (R.-Calif.), in whose congressional district the Patanias live, discusses the entire incident in the accompanying story. Rep. Talcott is the sponsor of H.R. 7434, which would require a local referendum before the federal planners could put an urban renewal project into any community. This bill is presently being bottled up in committee.

The congressman says the manner of eviction, furthermore, is far from pleasant. "You should know," he recently told his colleagues in the House, "about the infamous Patania case in my district. [For background, see *Human Events*, Aug. 24, 1964.] The urban renewal project is six years old. Mr. Patania is 72. He and his wife lived in their modest home for 42 years. It was in good condition, but in an area designated for commercial urban renewal. They were offered 'fair market value' for their home—$12,500 I think—not nearly adequate to replace their home today. They declined.

"They were ordered evicted. They refused to leave. The sheriff ordered them evicted. Mrs. Patania was forcibly subdued, placed in a straitjacket and removed via stretcher—under the gaze of nationwide television and other reporters. Mr. Patania was forcibly removed also. Then, to add to their ignominy, both were jailed until their home was bulldozed to the ground to prevent their reentry."

But that wasn't the end of it. "They have," says Talcott," also been sued for contempt of court and damages for the costs of the evictions and the special, premature demolition of their home. Urban renewal had little compassion for this old couple who could not speak English and who only wanted to keep their most valuable and precious possession (next to life itself)—their home of 42 years."

The time has come, Talcott insists, to make urban renewal sensitive to the popular will of the communities involved. "The people in the community are intelligent enough, concerned enough and wise enough to make the decisions which are best for them and their communities.

"The whole community should understand, approve and support worthy urban renewal projects. . . ."

A referendum, he asserts, would serve three essential, but presently ignored, purposes: (1) any urban renewal project would have to marshal public support; (2) it would encourage community involvement in public affairs; and (3) it would put urban renewal proponents on their mettle, requiring them to develop and sell a project which has merit and will serve the total public interest rather than "benefit a small coterie of speculators at public expense."

If a renewal project is not well enough planned or explained to satisfy a majority of the community which must share the project's costs and burdens, says Talcott, then there is no justification for it. If a slum area needs to be renewed and there are two competing proposals, the community, Talcott insists, should have a direct voice in making any selection.

"Elections," he says, "are a small cost to insure free public knowledge and support. The many economic and social manifestations of any renewal project affect the whole community. The whole community should be intimately involved to insure success. A referendum is the best method of obtaining support and insuring this success." And so it is. But the Talcott bill may never see the light of day unless the public starts putting the heat on its elected officials.

The following are the members of the Housing subcommittee of the House Banking and Currency Committee. This subcommittee has before it the Talcott bill, H. R. 7434, requiring a referendum for every urban renewal project. Democrats: William Barrett (Pa.), chairman; Leonor Sullivan (Mo.); Thomas Ashley (Ohio); William Moorhead (Pa.); Robert Stephens Jr. (Ga.); Fernand St. Germain (R. I.); Henry Gonzalez (Tex.) and Henry Reuss (Wis.). Republicans: William Widnall (N. J.); Paul Fino (N. Y.); Florence P. Dwyer (N. J.) and James Harvey (Mich.).

CONSERVATIVE ACTION—

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for the story of what one man did.

How the Federal Government Has Failed the U.S. Indians. Page 9

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Practical Politics—VI

Whom to Hire

Advertising—on radio and television, in newspapers and local magazines, on billboards and posters, in direct mail letters and postcards—will probably account for over 75 per cent of your campaign budget. Therefore, it stands to reason that particular care should be taken to see that this money is spent intelligently.

Dave Baldwin, assistant director of the American Medical Political Action Committee (AMPAC), has commented that "The candidate-run campaign is a natural-born loser. The fact remains that a campaign hinges on the relations existing between the public and the candidate, and that this relationship is irrevocably recorded on election day. That candidate is therefore wisest who hires the best public relations people he can afford and, first uttering an act of faith, prepares to *listen* to them."

Professional help is not an absolute necessity to victory—especially if you can find highly skilled volunteers with experience in the public relations field—but it is a great advantage.

In the matter of press relations, few amateurs are knowledgeable or proficient in writing either releases or speeches. A full-time pro, available to take advantage of your opponent's slip-of-the-tongue remark the morning after it happened, will pay for himself before the campaign is over. He can capitalize on your opponent's remarks while they are still "news" to the local papers and, at the same time, give maximum exposure to your man.

Obviously it is the expense that deters many campaign organizers from considering employing these professionals. But even if your budget is so sorely limited that you cannot afford a full-time public relations firm you should at least consider using an advertising agency. Many agencies will take their payment under the rebate system, much the same as travel agencies make their profit from lower prices on tickets with the difference reverting to the agency. As a result, media placement (purchase of the most effective space or time period) is handled by a professional, the cost to your campaign is no greater and more efficient use is made of your funds.

Take the money spent on television advertising as one example. Most experts now believe that TV exposure is used most effectively if confined to 15-second, half-minute and one-minute spots. And these spots do not have to be—and often should not be—in the so-called "prime" evening hours of 7:30 to 11 p.m.

For the price of just one 10-second spot in prime time, you can often buy three or four such spots in "Class C or D" time. These are the hours earlier in the day when many housewives are watching their favorite quiz show or soap opera while ironing or cleaning house.

Although the experts usually oppose 15 or 30-minute television speeches because they tend to be dull and have a small viewing audience (this is especially true in the more local campaigns), many candidates demand at least one such longer appearance during the campaign. Professionals can help you in planning this show.

They will make sure to avoid the stereotyped scene of your man sitting behind a desk with an American flag in the background and the walls filled with bookcases. They will get him out of the film studio and into the heart of your district. If he is an incumbent, they will have him filmed studying the highways that he has brought to the district or the plants that are running full steam.

If you do not have professional help with this work, remember that the cost of the television time is just the beginning. There are preparation and production costs (including movie film or TV tape) that are extra. If your candidate is running on the ticket of a major party, contact that party's congressional campaign committee. In the 1964 elections, as for several years past, the campaign committees of both parties produced excellent, often humorous, film clips and spots which can be obtained cheaply from their Washington headquarters.

Of course, television is not the only medium that should be used and, in some smaller campaigns, the heavy use of TV is a mistake because of the few voters reached for each dollar spent. Radio, for example, is often overlooked. Saturation spot announcements, tailored to appeal to the audience most apt to be listening at a given time, frequently represent a real bargain.

Care should also be taken when spending money for newspaper advertising. Quarter-page and half-page ads, if well done, are almost as effective as full-page ads. They also have the advantage of modesty; the full-page ad somehow suggests that your candidate is running a gold-plated campaign and spending a fortune.

Before allocating the campaign funds for advertising purposes, it is highly recommended that the areas of media influence and coverage be established. This will provide a guideline as to the amount of money to be spent in each county or area of the constituency. Again, professional help from an advertising agency or public relations firm would be valuable, but, lacking that, there are certain steps that can be taken.

On a map of the constituency, plot the coverage and circulation area for the television stations, the radio stations and the newspapers in the area. Sources for this information include *Broadcasting-Television Annual, Television Factbook, Standard Rate and Data,* the individual stations and the circulation departments of the newspapers.

The plotted areas should disclose several main mass media centers and will indicate the areas they cover. It is then possible to determine which media should be used to influence the largest numbers of potential voters, taking into account the total number of registered party members and the total vote cast in the preceding or two preceding elections for the political office in question.

Obviously this procedure will not yield hard and fast answers for the spending of every advertising dollar. For example, an adjustment must be made for the "home town factor"; in those areas where your candidate is well known, less money need be allocated. Here the judgment of your top campaign workers will have to come into play.

As you can see, professional help would be extremely useful in solving these complex problems. But there is another advantage to using a pro. Off-election years are usually political vacuums and volunteer workers tend to disappear. A professional can take advantage of this lull by "making news." He can hit hard on every topic from nepotism to neglect, from mismanagement to misrepresentation. He can keep your opponent's errors in front of the public week in and week out, so that everyone in your district is familiar with them.

But do not be completely discouraged if your budget just will not permit you to hire professionals. If you have chosen your volunteers well and if they, knowing they lack a certain expertise, are willing to study harder and learn the professionals' techniques, you can still come up with a winning campaign.

Next week's article will discuss "Special Projects" for your volunteer workers.

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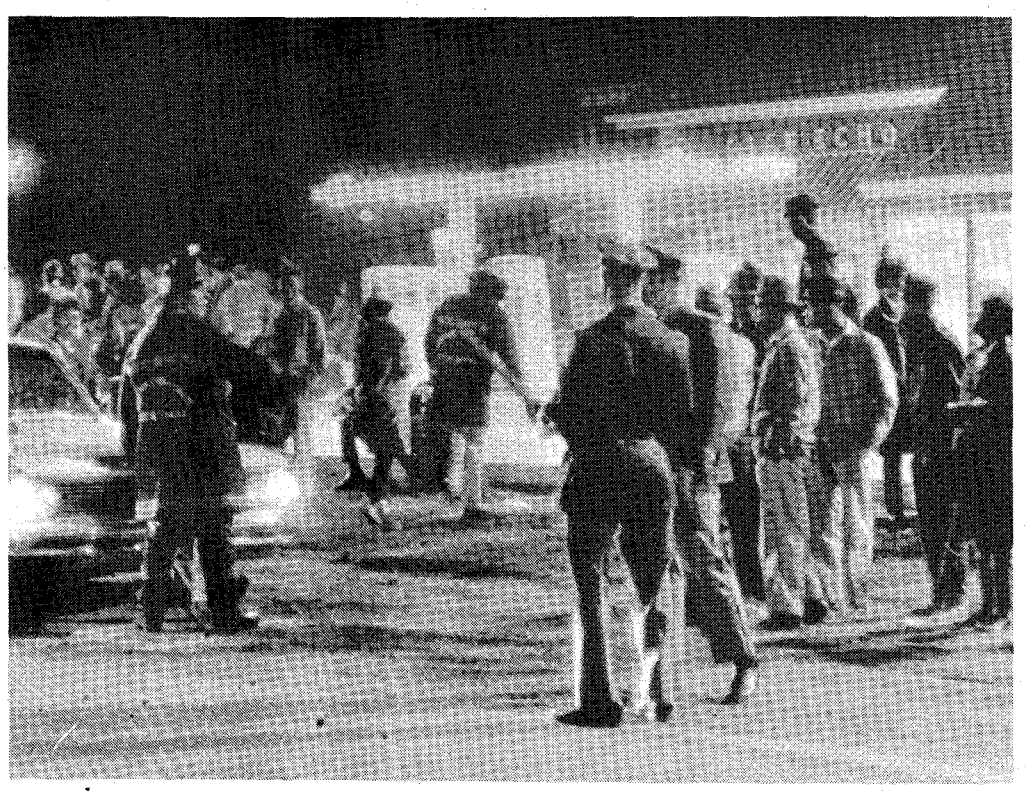

Police move to break up rioting teen-agers during the Glen Echo disturbances.

"Poverty workers" interrupted Shriver's address and then harangued the assembly.

Two Outbursts of Anarchy Rock Official Washington...

At Glen Echo Amusement Park

By RALPH DE TOLEDANO

Washington had a riot on Easter Monday, but the local citizenry isn't too worried. It was just an ordinary riot, they are saying, and it wouldn't have happened if the Glen Echo Amusement Park hadn't closed down early, before the buses had arrived to take the crowd away. Two teen-age gangs may have set it off as part of their spring maneuvers. But don't worry, it wasn't a race riot.

This is what public permissiveness and the talk of the youthful revolution have led the country to.

The facts of the Glen Echo riot are not in dispute. The amusement park was overflowing with visitors, mostly Negro children free from school. When it shut down for the day, some of these children still held tickets to rides that had standing-room-only attendance all afternoon. The crowds poured out because of a premature closing and there wasn't sufficient public transportation. So the young people showed their displeasure by attacking the buses.

The drivers refused to pick up passengers when the rioting began, fearful that trouble on board would lead to traffic accidents, wrecks and bodily harm to themselves. The rioters decided to walk from the Washington suburb to their homes. On the way they smashed automobile windshields, attempted to force their way into cars stalled by the traffic jam the rioting had caused, and threw rocks through the picture windows of the trim houses they passed. Maryland County and State Police handled the situation well and there were no serious casualties.

This, however, is hardly a basis for the thinly veiled congratulations of many Washingtonians. Much more to the point, and considerably healthier, are the comments of William J. Raspberry, Negro columnist of the Washington *Post*. "Call me Uncle Tom, if it makes you feel better," he wrote. "But I happen to believe that the Easter Monday violence and vandalism at Glen Echo Amusement Park was inexcusable. I also believe it's stupid to try to lay the blame on 'Whitey.' . . . "

"There are those who will judge Monday's outbreak by Negro youngsters more harshly than they would similar violence by white college students at Fort Lauderdale or Daytona Beach or Rehobeth. This, of course, is unfair. Senseless violence is equally reprehensible whether perpetrated by wretched blacks or pampered whites."

This is precisely the point. Bit by bit, aided by sentimentalists in and out of our courts, some sociologists have found an excuse for anti-social behavior. But steps taken by law enforcement agencies to prevent or to stop it are sometimes labeled reactionary and vicious.

In the schools of our big cities, there is violence or the threat of it every day of the year. School teachers must devote more of their time to this problem than to their job of imparting knowledge to their students. They must keep almost as wary an eye on the interfering social worker as they do on a knife-toting juvenile delinquent expressing his revolt against society by carving up his classmates.

There will be this kind of wanton violence just so long as Americans persist in confusing explanations with excuses. Let the sociologists "explain" that this crime was the result of parental callousness and inattention or by too much mother love. But don't let them say that there must be no punishment for the crime.

Whatever the sociologists may say, punishment is usually a deterrent—as every man or woman has brought up children knows. The job of the sociologist, if his theories are correct, is to prevent the outburst. After that, it should be up to police and courts which recognize that mitigation is not exculpation.

As spring surrenders to summer, there will be other teen-age riots, black and white or black versus white. If they don't come about spontaneously, there are people about who will fan them into ugly flame. But if the community makes known its determination to handle the rioters with firmness and despatch, there will be fewer ready to face prison. And if the community demonstrates its repugnance for those who take the law in vain, then it will no longer be considered the "in" thing to be hauled off to jail while flashbulbs pop and the TV cameras roll.

A society usually gets what it deserves. Years of acting as if hoodlum violence were nothing more than youth in revolt have given sanction to Glen Echo riots and their like. A changed public attitude will do more to stamp it out than all the tears the sentimentalists shed on young malefactors.

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At Anti-Poverty 'Crusade' Meeting

From the Nashville *Banner*

Riot for riot's sake—the game of professionals, for purposes of anarchy—was replayed at Washington on April 14th to grab the "poverty war" program and beat America over the head with it. From screaming harpies to beady-eyed Vietniks mobilized for the occasion, they turned the organizational hootenanny sponsored by Walter Reuther and his "Citizens' Crusade Against Poverty" into a demonstration with overtones of violence.

What did the sponsors expect? What did R. Sargent Shriver expect, as chief speaker? A meeting of minds soberly addressed to calm assessment of problems, and devoid of firebrands striking sparks for explosion?

Whether or not these trouble makers were there by invitation, it should have been known they would be present, as delegates of insurrection—and that they would perform exactly as they did.

Let it be clearly stated: They do not represent the "poor," to whom public decency, order and patriotism are elementary virtues. For them to pose as such is a sham insulting public intelligence. They have simply fastened on the movement—as they were expected to do—to exploit it for their own subversive purposes.

If Mr. Reuther does not take warning from this disgraceful episode, Washington officials assuredly should—to guard against the poverty program becoming a vehicle for contrived chaos.

The "Citizens' Crusade" which so swiftly deteriorated into this extravaganza of fist-shaking riot is Reuther's baby. He dipped into his union's dues kitty for a cool $1 million to finance it; to mobilize for his own challenge of the Johnson poverty program as "not enough." And more than coincidentally, he would enlist that way such as he could recruit for action at the polls.

Although Mr. Reuther is using UAW dues to mobilize the group, it is apparent that the "benefits" he will dangle as bait to snare recruits will be grounded in the federal treasury and stem from laws yet to come authorizing greatly expanded federal relief programs.

This was evident when he charged that the Administration had not set up sufficient funds in its budget to meet the needs of the nation's poor.

Reuther's warning that unless there were "sharp increases in federal commitments to anti-poverty programs, riots and bloodshed could replace reason in searching for solutions to poverty" was patently designed to set the emotional tempo for a big membership drive.

The crusade's goal, according to reports, is to build a nationwide network of groups representing the poor to provide a "political counterbalance" to what its sponsors term "the influence of big city officials on anti-poverty programs and leadership."

Such an organization, made up of millions of hitherto politically listless citizens banded together in a "common cause," would be made to order for political manipulation.

Its potential in this respect has not been overlooked by its sponsors.

Significantly, the conference plans to adopt resolutions on a wide range of topics, including the minimum wage issue, unemployment and guaranteed annual incomes—all of them axes the UAW chieftain has been grinding for years.

It goes without saying that when Mr. Reuther puts $1 million into a program of any kind he expects to run the show—even if it's behind the scenes.

For years he has tried to organize the nation's farmers. Now he's playing financial angel to the "Citizens' Crusade Against Poverty," and the warning should suffice.

Regardless of that, however, Washington saw a sample of explosive handiwork resulting when far-left outlaw elements, with their own needle and pattern, also take a hand in the embroidering.

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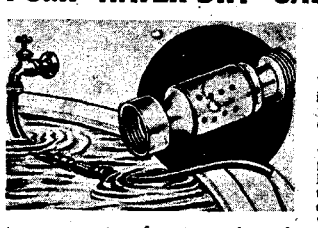

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CAPITOL CAMERA

• Rutgers University Prof. Eugene Genovese, a central issue in New Jersey's 1965 gubernatorial campaign, has again called for a Communist victory in Viet Nam. Speaking in New Brunswick, Genovese accused Washington of seeking the "physical destruction" of Red China. He said the U.S. was waging a racist war in Viet Nam, said American officials hope to wipe out the "colored races abroad."

GENOVESE

• *The White House has launched what reporter David Wise of the New York* Herald Tribune *calls a "concerted campaign to downgrade the press." Deputy White House Press Secretary Robert Fleming last week denounced several newsmen, including Stewart Alsop, Andrew Tully, Malcolm Browne, Frank Cormier and Douglas Kiker, in an obvious attempt to counter public concern over Administration credibility.*

• More than 6,500 New York Democrats turned out recently to cheer Sen. Wayne Morse (D.-Ore.) as he denounced U.S. foreign policy. Radio Moscow quoted Morse as saying that American intervention in Viet Nam is "unjust, immoral and in violation of the Constitution." The Red radio noted that prominent Democrats applauded the Morse speech. Among them: Rep. William Fitts Ryan (D.-N.Y.); City Councilman Theodore Weiss, a reform Democratic candidate for Congress; and Gerald Hill, president of the California Democratic Council.

MORSE

• *The Department of Health, Education and Welfare has admitted sending copies of a booklet glorifying the Johnson Administration to every barbershop in the nation, more than 30,000 all told. Rep. Melvin Laird (R.-Wis.) termed the project a misuse of taxpayer dollars, adding: "I send my own campaign literature to barbershops, but I pay for it myself."*

• A liberal New York congressman has sharply rapped Sen. Robert Kennedy. Rep. Joseph Resnick (D.-N.Y.) charged that Bobby was "giving aid and comfort" to leftist extremists by his "unwarranted and irresponsible attacks" on Administration budget cuts. Asked why he thought Kennedy made the statement, Resnick replied, "The man wants to be President of the United States. He sees no political future in going to the right so he goes to the left of the Administration." Asked if he considered Kennedy to be the leader of New York Democrats, Rosnick replied sharply, "He's not my leader."

RESNICK

• *During the 1964 campaign, Jack D. Gordon was an advance man for Hubert Humphrey. Gordon's wife, Barbara, now receives $50 a day as a consultant to the Miami, Fla., anti-poverty agency. Gordon is a prominent Miami Democrat and savings and loan executive.*

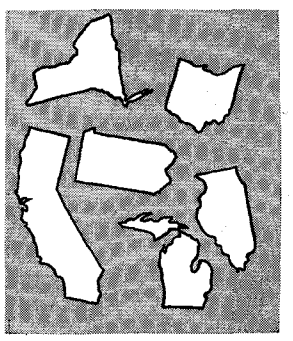
• Another Indiana county has voted overwhelmingly to reject participation in the federal "War on Poverty." Residents of Boone County decided by a 15-to-1 margin to rely on self help through local welfare agencies and civic groups. The action follows closely a similar rejection by Hendricks County (Ind.) residents who turned down federal aid by an 8-to-1 margin. Hendricks County voters refused the "free federal money" after it was discovered that Sargent Shriver's Office of Economic Opportunity was peddling false statistics in arguing the program was needed.

SHRIVER

This Week in Washington

LBJ Torpedoes Dirksen

Not detailed by the press last week were the White House and labor union pressures which sank the Dirksen reapportionment amendment aimed at curtailing the power of big-city bosses and the labor unions. Dirksen's men counted at least 67 votes on Monday—the two-thirds margin necessary to win if the entire Senate voted—but by vote time on Wednesday the heat had been turned on so many senators that Dirksen's majority had melted away.



An aide to liberal Sen. William Proxmire (D.-Wis.), who headed up the Dirksen opposition, was heard to remark:

"You don't think Lyndon Johnson is going to allow Dirksen to ram down George Meany's throat both right-to-work and reapportionment in the same session, do you?"

AFL-CIO chieftain Meany had a lot to lose. The Dirksen amendment, if ratified, would permit the people of a state to apportion one house of a state legislature on a basis other than purely population—the set-up that existed for 175 years until the Supreme Court in 1964 decided it was unconstitutional. Without the Dirksen amendment, the big cities—many controlled by liberal bosses and labor union moguls—would be able to completely dominate the state legislatures. That was the big issue at stake and that's why the White House and the unions began strong-arming the senators.

One senator, counted on Dirksen's side, told the Illinois Republican at the last minute he would have to defect because he couldn't withstand the heat from the unions. Another senator received word directly from the White House. Lee Metcalf (D.-Mont.), who had supported Dirksen in the last session, switched to the side of his opposition. Ernest Gruening (D.-Alaska) had also cast his lot with Dirksen in 1965, but he was conveniently off in the Aleutian Islands. Even the conservative A. Willis Robertson (D.-Va.), who faces tough primary opposition from a liberal, was away at the time of the crucial vote. Robertson had previously been a big champion of the Dirksen measure.

By Wednesday, Dirksen's two-thirds majority had evaporated. The final vote: 55 to 38 (see roll-call on page 15). A switch of seven votes would have won for the GOP Senate leader.

Three liberal Republicans also sabotaged Dirksen by voting with his opposition (led by Democrats Paul Douglas of Illinois and Joseph Tydings of Maryland). The Republicans opposed to Dirksen's measure: J. Caleb Boggs (Del.), Clifford Case (N.J.), and Jacob Javits (N.Y.).

Dirksen's anti-boss amendment, however, is by no means dead and the GOP leader promises to bring it up in the next session of Congress. Voters in November have a way to vastly improve its chances of passage by turning out of office these six Democrats and one Republican who voted to oppose it and who are up for re-election this year: Democrats: Ross Bass (Tenn.), Thomas McIntyre (N.H.), Walter Mondale (Minn.), Claiborne Pell (R.I.), Paul Douglas (Ill.), and Lee Metcalf (Mont.); Republican: Clifford Case (N.J.).

Liberal Brainwashing Outfit

A semi-secretive, highly liberal organization is conducting brainwashing sessions for congressional assistants close by Capitol Hill. Going under the title of the Institute for Policy Studies, the group is a tax-exempt institute which began operations in Washington in 1963. Its headquarters are located at 1900 Florida Ave., N.W., where furtive meetings are held at night for the purpose of "educating" congressional aides.

The type of education they might receive is indicated by the IPS bulletin board which is decorated with Women Strike for Peace literature and a campaign poster for Robert Scheer, the foreign affairs editor of the radical *Ramparts* magazine who is running for Congress in California. Scheer's poster reads: "The United States should never have gone into Viet Nam, should not have stayed there and should now get out."

The IPS runs on an annual budget of approximately $200,000 which it receives from universities and such organizations as the Ford Foundation, which set up the left-wing Fund for the Republic.

Reporters are not welcome at IPS meetings and are sometimes even refused its literature. A secretary, Joyce Schroeder, told a *Human Events* reporter over the telephone that he could have some of the printed material but when he arrived to pick it up she refused to hand it over to him. She wouldn't give it out until he had first talked to the co-director who wasn't in and is often away from the office.

IPS is engaged in many operations, including bringing university scholars to the Capital to research problems of public policy, but this tax-exempt institute is presently concentrating its energies on molding the minds of congressional assistants. It has already started a seminar for aides on problems of the South, in which such radical political operators like CORE director Floyd McKissick and the AFL-CIO's Southern organizer, James Pierce, tell the aides what must be done to improve conditions. Conservative or even moderate speakers cannot be discovered on the seminar syllabus.

An even more flagrantly biased seminar on disarmament will begin on April 26. An IPS invitation says that approximately 20 congressional assistants will meet at 7 p.m. at the institute once a week for 10 weeks. The seminar, notes the invitation, is reserved "exclusively for congressional assistants" and will "explore various views of national defense."

While the institute's language indicates the seminars will be non-partisan and scholarly, the speakers sponsored by the IPS are nearly all from the radical left-wing fringe. Among the disarmament "experts" to be heard:

• Marcus G. Raskin. A co-director of the institute, he was so liberal that even White House aide McGeorge Bundy couldn't get along with Raskin when Raskin was a staff member of the National Security Council. Raskin was a key speaker at the anti-Viet Nam teach-in held in the Sheraton Park Hotel last May. He was also a consultant to *The Liberal Papers*, a notorious handbook of appeasement which contained essays counseling recognition of Red China and unilateral disarmament.

• Arthur Waskow. A "resident fellow" of the institute, Waskow is an author of an essay in *The Liberal Papers* and once put together a study for the U.S. Arms Control and Disarmament Agency which contained an article claiming that world peace was benefited by the Soviet occupation of Eastern and Central Europe.

• Seymour Melman. A unilateral disarmament champion, he is a member of SANE, has picketed against Civil Defense in New York and has had his works on unilateral disarmament lauded by Victor Perlo in the *Worker*, the official paper of the Communist Party, U.S.A.

• Jerome Wiesner. Another "peace champion," he has criticized our disarmament negotiators for being overly cautious with the Soviets, has approved plans to cut our defenses unilaterally and is in favor of appeasing the Soviets on a broad scale in order to achieve some sort of disarmament pact with them.

Such is the nature of an organization now trying to get its radical views across to Congress by "briefing" congressional aides.

Freshman Demos Oppose HCUA

An amazing admission has come from freshman U.S. Rep. John J. Gilligan, a Democrat from Ohio's 1st Congressional District, which comprises part of Cincinnati. Gilligan concedes that the freshman Democrats in the House voted appropriations for the House Committee on Un-American Activities as the price for getting "Great Society" legislation through Congress.

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Speaking before the American Civil Liberties Union's central Ohio chapter, Gilligan elaborated: "That may be a cynical view, but it's one way to explain it."

Gilligan claimed 54 first-term congressmen are responsible for pushing through LBJ's legislation, but they knew, he insisted, they wouldn't be back if they voted against appropriations to keep the HCUA operating. Referring to Robert Taft Jr., who is likely to win the GOP nomination in the primary over William Flax, Gilligan said: "Imagine my position. Taft would beat my skull to jelly with that. I may lose, but if I do I want the voters to decide it on some issue besides that one."

Gilligan's own views on the House committee were clear. Referring to HCUA, Gilligan said: "Why do we put up with this nonsense?"

Demo Favoritism

White House lieutenants have slipped through the House of Representatives legislation to give two former congressmen windfall profits at taxpayer expense. A little-noticed provision in the Administration's federal pay bill would aid former Reps. Paul Kilday (D.-Tex.) and Frank E. Smith (D.-Miss.).

Kilday, appointed by the late President Kennedy to the Military Court of Appeals, is presently eligible for a retirement pension of $19,212 a year if he serves out his court term, which expires May 1, 1976. Under the Administration bill, Kilday's pension would be increased to $27,648.

Smith, a Kennedy-appointed member of the Tennessee Valley Authority, is now eligible for retirement at $15,672 a year on Feb. 21, 1978. The bill advances his retirement to May 19, 1972 and increases the pension to $15,744. The five years and nine months of extra retirement benefits which Smith will collect as a result of the advanced date total $90,528.

Eagle-eyed Sen. John Williams (R.-Del.) discovered the get-rich-quick provisions in the House-passed bill. He has introduced amendments to strike the pension hikes for Kilday and Smith.

The Delaware solon noted that Administration officials have hailed the pay bill for keeping increases within the President's guideline of 3.2 per cent.

"What guidelines, and who does the 'Great Society' think it is kidding?" Williams asked. "Who said this 'Great Society' is not fighting poverty—at least as far as its own hierarchy is concerned?"

McClellan Rakes Saxon

Sen. John McClellan's (D.-Ark.) Permanent Subcommittee on Investigations has issued a report sharply critical of the bank chartering practices of the comptroller of the currency, James J. Saxon. Saxon, a Kennedy appointee, has been under attack since 1965 for issuing bank charters to Democratic cronies, including one for the D.C. National Bank in which Bobby Baker was able to buy 1,500 shares.

The McClellan report accuses Saxon of granting charters without adequate supervision of the banks or their officials.

Two of the most flagrant examples of bad supervision, charges McClellan, "relate to the disintegration and collapse of the San Francisco National Bank and of the Brighton Bank of Brighton, Colo."

Evidence clearly reveals that Comptroller Saxon had available in June 1964—seven months before the San Francisco National Bank was placed in receivership—information about numerous violations of law in the operation of the bank. One of Saxon's national bank examiners, in fact, attempted to report these criminal activities to the Department of Justice on June 22, 1964, but Saxon chose not to forward the letter until *eight* months later.

"This," McClellan says pointedly, "was about a month after the bank had been closed and more than a month after the subcommittee had started its investigation."

The Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation, after making its own investigation, finally closed the bank, but FDIC's ultimate liability, as a consequence of the bank's failure, may reach a total of $25 million.

Saxon's failure to investigate thoroughly the charter application for the Brighton National Bank led to that bank's collapse as well, McClellan charges. The charter applications were loaded with false statements made by the applicants and the bank's proposed officials.

"From its opening on May 1, 1963, until its failure on Jan. 22, 1965," says McClellan, "the affairs of the Brighton National Bank were marked by fraud, forgery, corruption and almost every kind of abuse and impropriety imaginable."

The Department of Justice has been kept busy by Saxon. Seven persons involved with banks chartered and suprvised by Saxon have been indicted; two have been tried and convicted. McClellan laments, however, that despite these convictions the deficiencies in Saxon's supervision of the banking industry have not been corrected.

McClellan's subcommittee report is admittedly only a partial picture of Saxon's operations. Some congressmen are hoping McClellan will issue reports on these Saxon activities as well:

• His issuance of a charter to the Redwood National Bank of San Rafael, Calif., whose sponsors paid $5,000 to a Washington lobbyist who is a friend of Bobby Baker's.

• The quick approval of a charter for the Neches National Bank of Silsbee, Tex., after Rep. Jack Brooks (D.-Tex.) acquired a majority of its stock.

• The issuance of a charter to D.C.'s National Bank in which Bobby Baker had bought stock. Sen. John Sparkman (D.-Ala.), chairman of the Senate Banking Committee, owns stock in it and one of its organizers was Max Kampelman, a close associate of Vice President Hubert Humphrey.

'Kiddiecare'?

Little publicity has been given to LBJ's call for increases in "across the board" Social Security benefits, including dental care for some 25 million children under six. LBJ unveiled this costly new program even though fiscal experts have predicted the Medicare "trust fund" set up under Social Security will go broke in the near future under current financing.

In disclosing his new proposal to a San Antonio audience, LBJ said: "Medicare need not just be for people over 65. That is where we started." Then he promised: "We are never going to stop trying to find new ways to make Medicare sensitive to what people need, and make it sensitive to what we ought to do to lift the quality of life in this land and in this world. . . ."

Some insiders were saying that LBJ is once again bowing to labor pressures.

The AFL-CIO convention in December suggested financing new Social Security benefits by raising the taxable wage base—just recently set at $6,600—to $15,000. If the tax rate remains the same, this new base means that an employe earning at least $15,000 would have to pay Social Security taxes of $630 a year instead of the $277 he now has to kick in. This tax, of course, is also matched by his employer.

The AFL-CIO also wants the government to use other tax revenues to help subsidize Social Security.

Red China Lobby

Three prominent Democrats have in the past several weeks urged recognition of the Communist Chinese. In a major Senate speech, Sen. Stephen Young (D.-Ohio) called for recognition of Peking and trade in "non-strategic" items.

Sen. Wayne Morse (D.-Ore.) rose to "heartily" endorse Young's call for recognition of the Red Chinese. "In not too many years," said the Oregon solon, "China will be recognized as one of the great powers of the world."

One of the most fervent advocates of Chinese recognition is Rep. Weston E. Vivian (D.-Mich.). In a recent speech at Ann Arbor, Vivian said that the United States should press for China's admission to the United Nations and for Nationalist China's expulsion from the Security Council.

He advocated U.N.-sponsored elections on Formosa to let the people of that country vote on whether to become an independent nation or rejoin mainland China. Strangely, or not so strangely, Vivian did not call for a U.N.-supervised plebicite to see if the people of mainland China wished to accept their Communist rulers.

Vivian also called for trade with the Red Chinese and for cultural exchange with Peking. "By removing restrictions on travel and trade," he said, "we will demonstrate to the younger men, who will soon rule China, that this nation does desire, and will take concrete steps, toward peaceful coexistence."

CAPITOL CAMERA

• A sign of things to come in November? Rep. Catherine May has polled her constituents, discovered they oppose foreign aid at current high-spending levels, the sale of grain to the Communist bloc, and repeal of Section 14b of the Taft-Hartley Act. By a margin of 5 to 1, they favor postponement of "Great Society" welfare measures until the Vietnamese conflict is settled. Lyndon Johnson, incidentally, carried Mrs. May's district by more than 2 to 1 in 1964.

MAY

• *The Daughters of the American Revolution last week warned that a coalition government in South Viet Nam would rapidly fall under Communist control. "Coalition historically achieves enemy take-over, dishonors our pledges and makes senseless the sacrifices of American youth," the resolution, adopted unanimously, declared.*

• A poll of his constituents by Rep. Edward Gurney (R.-Fla.) shows great dissatisfaction with the "Great Society." Seven out of eight voters said they disapproved of the Johnson Administration. Gurney said that opposition to the Administration did not surprise him because earlier pulse-taking indicated that "Central Florida was not pleased with the welfare programs of the 'Great Society.'" However, he said, he was amazed at the "lopsided reaction of more than 7 to 1 against the 'Great Society.'"

GURNEY

• *Sen. Gale McGee (D.-Wyo.) last year racked up $3,937 in bills while touring Europe at government expense. McGee recently visited South Viet Nam, again at taxpayer expense. Asked by a reporter why McGee had made the trip, an aide said: "He just hasn't been there in a while."*

• On March 31, Assistant Secretary of Defense John McNaughton wrote Rep. Durward Hall (R.-Mo.) to say that although the United States was in fact buying back some bombs it had earlier sold Germany as surplus, "we will pay no more for the material than was paid to us when it was sold." It was learned last week, however, that the U.S. is paying $21 apiece for bombs it sold to a German firm two years ago for $1.70. Hall charged the Defense Department with deceit in denying last month that it was paying more for its bombs than it originally sold them for. "Just how far does the right to lie have to be extended to protect the image of Secretary McNamara?" Hall demanded.

HALL

• *The Associated Press reports that Ozie Bulock formerly took home $104 a week as a Detroit factory worker. Now he makes $160.23, all of it untaxable, from two federal anti-poverty programs. Bulock gets payments from the work experience project of the "War on Poverty" and the skills-training program of the Manpower Development and Training Act of 1962.*

• Rep. Jack Edwards (R.-Ala.) charged last week that the Administration is wishing and hoping instead of using imagination and initiative to halt a Communist guerrilla threat in Latin America. The Alabama lawmaker said that "Moscow communism is moving with ever-greater force into all of Latin America." He said there were now 43 training camps for Latin guerrillas in Cuba and these centers turn out 10,000 professional revolutionaries a year.

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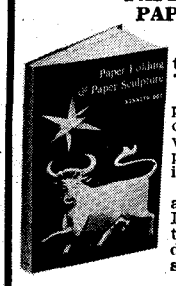

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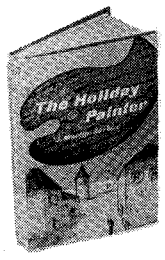

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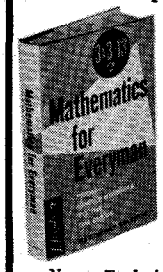

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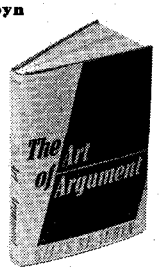

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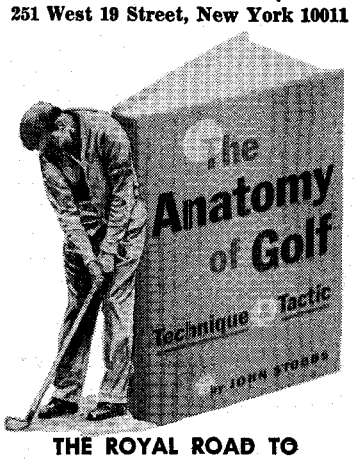

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Concerns Entire Nation

New York's Plunge Toward Bankruptcy

From the Chicago *Tribune*

It may be that the financial condition of New York City is none of Chicago's business, but we fear it is. The condition is becoming so serious that the federal government—which means our taxes—will be called upon to save New York from bankruptcy.

Mayor John V. Lindsay has just proposed a budget for the coming year of $4,615,286,000, which is an increase of $739.6 million over the previous record-breaking budget submitted a year ago by Mayor Robert F. Wagner. Lindsay is a Republican, or calls himself one, and has been mentioned as a possible future Republican candidate for President.

He calls his new budget "frugal" and says that 85 per cent of the increase is caused by "mandatory or inescapable" charges. But it is out of balance by $520 million, or nearly $100 million more than the current operating deficit.

New York has been financing its expenses by the highly unhealthy practice of borrowing money. This has resulted in a downgrading of the city's credit rating. Three months ago New York went to the bond market to borrow $253 million and found that it had to pay an interest rate of 4.1815, the highest rate in 34 years. This week the city informed the banks that it wanted to borrow $241 million more.

Mayor Lindsay has proposed a package of new taxes, including new business and personal income taxes, in an effort to keep the wolf from the door, but nobody expects all the new taxes to be adopted. The New York Stock Exchange is threatening to move out of the city if a 50 per cent increase in the stock transfer tax is imposed. This tax is now yielding the city nearly $100 million a year.

The new income tax proposals will intensify one of the principal causes of New York's plight, which is the desertion of the city by well-to-do people and the migration to the city of poor people. Lindsay's new budget calls for an increase of $129 million in expenditures for welfare, which were $494 million last year.

During the New York mayoral election campaign last fall, Lindsay made many promises that he would give the city better management, which would result in large economies. In the present crisis, better management obviously calls for an increase in the 15-cent transit fare to meet the expected Transit Authority deficit of $84.3 million. The mayor, however, continues to say that he wants to maintain the 15-cent fare.

Mayor John Lindsay's new budget is out of balance by more than $500 million.

The New York *Times* points out that if he continues on this course, the taxpayers will be subsidizing transit at the rate of a quarter of a billion dollars a year, including $116 million or more to debt service for capital expenditures, $30 million or more to policing, $20 million to low fares for students, and $84 million for the operating deficit made worse by the costly wage settlement after the January strike.

New York's problems, of course, are shared by other large cities, and all of them have been clamoring for increased federal subsidies for schools, transit, urban renewal, housing, welfare and other services. In New York's case, federal subsidies have only encouraged the city to go deeper into debt.

□ □ □

U. S. FLAG DESECRATION—Senate Minority Leader Everett Dirksen has introduced legislation to make a federal crime the desecration of the American flag. Dirksen said that in recent weeks radical leftists in several areas have "despoiled, spat upon, desecrated and rolled [Old Glory] in the mud . . . but there is no federal law." Similar legislation has been introduced in the House by Rep. Richard Roudebush (R.-Ind.) and Maston O'Neal (D.-Ga.).

Profit: A Necessary Good

From the Indianapolis *Star*

One of the greatest economic dangers this country faces today is lack of understanding of the function of profits in the production and distribution of goods and services.

James L. Goddard, the new commissioner of the Food and Drug Administration, provided a pertinent example in a recent speech to the annual meeting of the Pharmaceutical Manufacturers Association. He made some harsh accusations about sales, advertising and testing practices in making drugs. His general theme seemed to be that some drug companies are only interested in making money and are forgetting "the prime mission of their industry—to help people get well."

Drug company executives, he said, must put patients before profits.

If what Goddard meant was that there are drug makers who are only interested in putting out products they can sell profitably, not caring whether the products do good or harm, then that is indeed reprehensible. It should be condemned.

But there seems also to be a broad implication that profits can somehow be separated from the productive mission of industry, that profits can and should be subordinated to the welfare of the customers. The two can't be separated. They go together. They can't be assigned to different levels on a scale of values. Each depends on the other.

It is basic to the free enterprise system that the production of goods or services must yield profit. If a choice must be made between profits and the "mission" of an industry, then that industry is headed for oblivion. An industry which tries to carry out a mission without making profits will go bankrupt and cease to exist.

A drug maker can't put patients before profits. He'll go broke. Neither can he put profits before patients. Sooner or later he'll go broke that way, too.

The same kind of implication cropped up in criticism of the Office of Economic Opportunity decision to take operation of the Atterbury Job Corps Center away from the Midwest Education Foundation, a not-for-profit organizaton, and give it to the Westinghouse Corp. The charge was made that this will result in the corporation making profit on the poor.

There's no better way to improve the lot of the poor. The more ways there are for enterprises to make profits by serving the poor, the better the poor will be served. Take away all opportunities to "make profit on the poor" and very few things will get done for the poor.

In Senate Commerce Committee hearings on traffic safety there have been many accusations that manufacturers are more concerned about profits than about making safer cars. If that's true, it's because they must be. The concern for earning profits leads manufacturers to produce the kinds of cars people will buy. If people show eagerness to buy safer cars, the emphasis of change will be in that direction. If safer design is not what people want, manufacturers who try to push it will lose out. And they know it.

Profit is the force which keeps production pointed toward the things people need and want and can use. It is the force which keeps volume of production up to the capacity of the people to buy and consume. It keeps innovators searching for and trying out new ideas.

In short, the free enterprise system runs because enterprisers look for things to do which will earn profits. If anyone ever succeeds in persuading producers in general to forget about profits, the system will begin to break down.

□ □ □

FBI AGENTS have arrested an official of the Camp Atterbury (Ind.) Job Corps Center on charges he solicited a $2,000 bribe less than a month after he was hired. The incident was the latest in a long series of troubles at the camp that include fighting, drinking, homosexuality, desecration of a chapel and thievery.

Luce on the 'New Left'

Phillip Abbott Luce, once a prominent and controversial figure on the radical left, has now become a symbol of resistance to left-wing excesses. In the past few months he has contributed three penetrating articles to our pages, first on the W. E. B. DuBois Clubs, followed by one on Prof. Staughton Lynd and most recently on the "Days of Protest." These three articles have inspired so much reader interest that we have collected them into a single, four-page reprint. Taken together, they offer a powerful argument against the nihilism of the student protest movement. We urge all who are able to distribute this reprint widely among high school and college students. To order see our reprint coupon on page 15.

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The Case Against National Educational Planning

By DR. MAX RAFFERTY, California Superintendent of Public Instruction

National goals for education are all the rage these days. We educators are being told on all sides to get together under the federal aegis, coordinate the school curricula of the several states in the interests of increased efficiency and generally to plan ahead for a more uniform end product issuing from the nation's schools.

Why?

Who the devil wants a uniform end product? I don't.

Oh, I'm familiar with the rationalizations currently being batted about like so many bright and bromidic balloons: the different educational standards prevailing in various corners of the country; the need to produce more highly trained technicians if we're to continue to compete in tomorrow's world; the waste implicit in the spectacle of a great nation mounting its educational steed like Stephen Leacock's famous horseman and riding madly off in all directions.

If it weren't for the fact that I have a well-known aversion to badgering my distinguished colleagues, the so-called "leaders" of American education, I would be sorely tempted to lump these specious products of their collective thinking under the general heading of piffle.

We built out of a primeval wilderness a nation which is at once the wonder and the envy of mankind, and we did it without any national goals for education at all.

We have more and better scientists and technicians than any other country in the world. Our Gross National Product is superior to anybody else's by umpteen hundred per cent. Our satellites fly just as far and just as fast as anybody else's, and in addition they have even learned to practice togetherness of late. All this, oddly enough, without Big Brother in Washington directing or even "coordinating" what goes on in our thousands of local school districts in the 50 states.

To be brutally frank, we're getting it because Big Brother has decided it's time to move in on education and take over. I suppose it was unreasonable for us educators to sit by simultaneously watching everything else in the country turned over to Washington and thinking that somehow we were going to miraculously escape joining all the other Jonahs in the belly of the federal whale.

Just the same, the complete lack of authority for this sort of muscling in on local school districts is pointed up by the thunderous silence of our Constitution in regard to education. The word itself appears nowhere in that distinguished document, indicating clearly enough even to the most myopic that education is one of the "residual" powers which the Founding Fathers intended to leave strictly to the states.

The fact is that Madison and Co. would as soon have contemplated hellfire and the pit as they would have countenanced a national system of education. They knew what we should know but apparently don't: that as soon as a vast federal bureaucracy gets its cold, clammy hands on local schooling, education ceases to be education and becomes something quite, quite different.

Unfortunately, a Supreme Court which can conjure up out of nowhere the power to reapportion state legislatures can doubtless dream up some reason to legalize federal meddling in local school systems.

We don't need national "goals" for education. All we need is a commitment by educators themselves that each child needs to be schooled up to his maximum potential and that effective instruction in organized, disciplined, systematic subject matter is the only thing which in the years ahead will stand between this nation and atomized destruction. Such a commitment doesn't require Big Brother and his bureaucracy; all it requires is common sense.

There's nothing wrong with the states cooperating among themselves to further the cause of better education. But we'd better be mighty careful how we turn our educational planning over to anybody but ourselves.

Otherwise education is apt to end up like the well-known young lady from Niger who went for a ride on a tiger and returned from the ride with the lady inside and a smile on the face of the tiger.

(Copyright 1966, Los Angeles *Times*)

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JAPANESE REAPPRAISAL—Japan is undertaking a full review of its China policy because of recent statements by high Administration officials. It may be on the verge of recognizing the Red regime on the mainland. "The stream of statements by Vice President Humphrey, Secretary of State Rusk and Ambassador Goldberg about the American readiness to increase contacts with Peking has created almost an air of expectancy in the Japanese press," according to political comment in the *Japanese Times*.

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HAMBURGER: $1.25 lb.—The Milwaukee Meat Council has ominous news for the nation's housewives: Within two years, shoppers may be paying $1.25 a pound for hamburger, $1 a box for frozen vegetables, $3 a pound for steak and 50 cents a quart for milk.

□ □ □

P.O. PRICE INCREASES—In view of President Johnson's demands that businesses respect the 3.2 per cent guideline when raising their prices, it is interesting to note the following: Price increases by the Post Office, effective March 26: Insurance minimum, up from 10 to 20 cents—100 per cent; registered mail minimum fee, up from 60 to 75 cents—25 per cent; C.O.D. minimum, up from 40 to 60 cents—50 per cent; certified mail, up from 20 to 30 cents—50 per cent.

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Millions Want to Leave

Unrest Growing in Cuba

From the Allen-Scott Report

Disaffection and unrest in Cuba are at the highest peak since Fidel Castro came to power.

That's the universal report of defecting Cuban diplomats and the hundreds of refugees weekly fleeing the Communist-ruled island. Disillusionment and dissent have become so widespread and intense that Castro has been forced to resort to mailed-fist measures to avert open outbreaks.

The most deliberate of these firsthand sources carefully do not say an upheaval is imminent. But they do stress that highly inflammatory conditions and factors prevail that could readily lead to one.

As portrayed by them, Cuba is a seething cauldron of intensifying frustrations and furies that could explode in bloody revolt at any time.

Cited as foremost among these potentially eruptive forces are:

• Three attempts to assassinate Castro and his brother Raul since the first of the year. The last was in early March. One of the ringleaders escaped and is still at large.

• Student demonstrations at Havana University and in other cities. All have been forcibly suppressed by troops and militiamen, with many of the participants sent to heavily guarded concentration camps. Soviet tanks are now stationed at a number of points on the Havana campus. The disappearance of large numbers of the protesting students has been covered up with official pronouncements that they "volunteered" to cut cane in the sugar fields.

• Establishment of numerous new prison camps. Refugees estimate they now hold more than 80,000 political and religious prisoners. The locations and other details about these camps are in the hands of U.S. intelligence authorities.

• The food situation is steadily worsening. As of March 15, the individual rice ration per week was cut to three pounds, butter to one pound and eggs to 12 a month, and meat can be purchased only once every two weeks and then is limited to one pound.

• Fourteen Cuban diplomats have defected since the first of the year. Only a few have been revealed—for security and other reasons. It can be reported they have provided much valuable secret information.

With the Soviet bloc pouring around $1 million a day in economic aid into Cuba, the Kremlin is steadily expanding and tightening its reins over both Castro and the island.

In the past several months Russian "experts" have virtually taken over control of the Cuban National Bank, the Central Economic Planning Council, operation of the sugar mills and management of the fishing industry. Also under direct Moscow pressure, the Cuban Confederation of Labor is being junked and the unions are being put under immediate Communist party domination.

Apparently, much of this Russian ascendancy is not to Castro's liking. But he has no alternative. Since his public clash with Red China—forced by Moscow—he is wholly dependent on the Soviets. He either knuckles under or else.

According to refugees, the number of Cubans eager to escape the growing Soviet-type rule runs as high as 50 per cent of the six million population.

Already around one million have applied to leave to both the U.S. and Castro governments. This means they are willing to relinquish all their possessions for freedom, as all who flee are required to do. Since last December 1 some 16,000 refugees have been airlifted to the United States at the rate of nearly 200 a day.

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KENNEDY PLOY—The April 4 issue of *U.S. News & World Report* reports "Thruston Morton, Republican senator from Kentucky, spoke on the same occasion at the University of Mississippi as Robert Kennedy, New York senator, and got an even bigger reception as a Republican in Dixie. However, Sen. Morton got no mention in the nation's press, while Sen. Kennedy drew headlines. The New York senator was said to have drained off reporters by holding a press conference at the time of Sen. Morton's speech."

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DROPOUT FLOP—The Youth Opportunity Center in Grand Rapids, Mich., didn't expect a wealth of applicants for its anti-poverty project aimed at providing jobs for the unemployed. But not a single applicant signed up for the $221,650 project designed to make part-time city employes of school dropouts, the Associated Press reports.

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The 'Return' of Joseph Stalin

Communists Hold 23rd Party Congress in Moscow

By PHILLIP ABBOTT LUCE

The year 1966 might well be termed "The Year of the Meetings" in the Communist world. First, the Tri-Continental Conference met in Havana, Cuba, in early January. Now the Soviet Union has hosted a conference of Communist "comrades" who flocked to Moscow to attend the 23rd Congress of the Soviet Union.

Nearly 6,000 delegates and observers, representing 81 Communist parties and a number of "national liberation fronts" converged on a cold and dreary Moscow to sit passively and listen to speech after speech from the leaders of the Soviet Union and related Eastern bloc countries. This 23rd Congress lasted two weeks, ending on April 8.

The overriding revelation at the meeting was the attempt to reinstate Stalin in the Communist hierarchy and the reintroduction of his harsh methods in the fields of art and literature. This Congress certainly takes the edge off any argument about the "mellowing" of the Soviet brand of communism.

The importance of the Congress was summed up in the Hungarian press, which noted that since "the CPSU is the Soviet Union's driving force, the resolutions passed at its Congresses are extremely important for the international Communist movement and the entire world."

Certainly the public speeches do not reveal everything about the real work of the Congress, yet a close study of even the public aspects of this Congress yields important disclosures about the present Communist world.

Nearly all of the top dogs of the Communist International, with the notable exception of the Chinese and their buddies, were to be seen throughout the audience and on the podium. Janos Kadar led the Hungarian delegation; the East Germans were led by Walter Ulbricht; Antonin Novotny headed up the Czech group; and the leaders of the Communist parties of Bulgaria and Rumania were in charge of their respective delegations—at least publicly.

The North Koreans were there and issued a reserved attack on the Chinese for "splitting" the movement. This was expected, however, since the Soviet Union has recently provided a tremendous amount of material aid to the North Koreans and has apparently been successful in buying their allegiance from the Chinese.

The North Vietnamese were also at the Congress with a delegation headed by Le Duan. This delegation visited Peking on its way to Moscow and there held extensive conferences with Chou En-lai. The so-called National Liberation Front of South Viet Nam (the Viet Cong) was also present at the Congress. Receiving the most attention of any foreign group, the Viet Cong were promised increased Communist aid in a number of public and private meetings.

The Cubans sent a delegation to the Congress, but it was not headed by any of the top Cuban leaders. In fact, there was some surprise among foreign delegations over the fact that the Cubans had sent Armando Hart to lead the group, which included Haydee Santamaria, who was involved in a Cuban government scandal and purge some months ago.

Brezhnev praised the Cuban Communists in the most laudatory terms and told the assembled delegates that "Cuba is not alone. It is part of the powerful community of Socialist states and the Soviet people wholeheartedly support the Cuban people in their struggle to build a new society."

Armando Hart did, however, create a stir at the Congress when he not only stressed the importance of the recent Tri-Continental Conference, but urged all Communist and worker's parties, and particularly the Socialist countries, to embark upon revolutionary violence as their main task, in reply to "counterrevolutionary violence." He explained it in the following way:

"It is urgently necessary to start creating military forces which would be capable of standing against the United States in Viet Nam and other places."

Hart then demanded that the Communist movement publicly commit itself to such an action because, he believed, this would strengthen the prestige of the Socialist camp and unite it. Hart advocated the spreading of the world "revolution" and urged that this action should begin now.

Hart's speech aroused a great commotion in the hall where the delegates were gathered. It was totally unexpected. Not only had Fidel Castro recently had a falling-out with the Chinese and cancelled various sugar and rice deals, but he had seemed to be aligning himself directly with the "peaceful coexistence" program of the Soviet Union. This speech was also the only speech given at the 23rd Congress which evoked such a response from the delegates. The Yugoslavs called it "pseudo-revolutionary adventurism."

Hart's speech was the subject of considerable heated private discussion among the delegates. Many Latin American and African Communists joined the Cuban in his appeal for stepped-up revolutionary activity. The Soviet Communists, along with those delegates from the bloc countries, argued that this was not the time to openly antagonize the Western countries through "adventurous" policies. The Soviet delegates continued to argue that "peaceful coexistence" did not now include sending "volunteers" to Viet Nam.

The 23rd Party Congress also drew delegates from Spain, Portugal, Argentina, Peru, Chile, Venezuela, Nicaragua, Brazil, Guadeloupe and the United States. Although Gus Hall had been invited to head the American delegation (he even gained a passport for the visit), he backed out and only sent a message of support. Apparently the forthcoming CPUSA convention scheduled for June made it necessary for Hall to pass up this trip to the "motherland of socialism."

The U.S. Communists who did show up were Henry Winston, James Jackson and Hy Lumer. In Winston's speech at the Congress, he claimed that "at home, the Communists are confidently at work at the head of a growing and widening Socialist current, born of the struggle for peace, freedom, democratic rights and economic security."

Conspicuously absent from the Congress were the Chinese Communists and their small group of followers. No delegates appeared from Albania or New Zealand and only rump delegations claiming to represent the Communist parties of Belgium and Japan showed up. The day that the Congress opened, the head of the pro-Chinese Belgian Communist party, Jacques Grippa, released a notice from Brussels that a pro-Chinese group had been formed in Poland. Grippa referred to this as the "reappearance of the Polish Communist party."

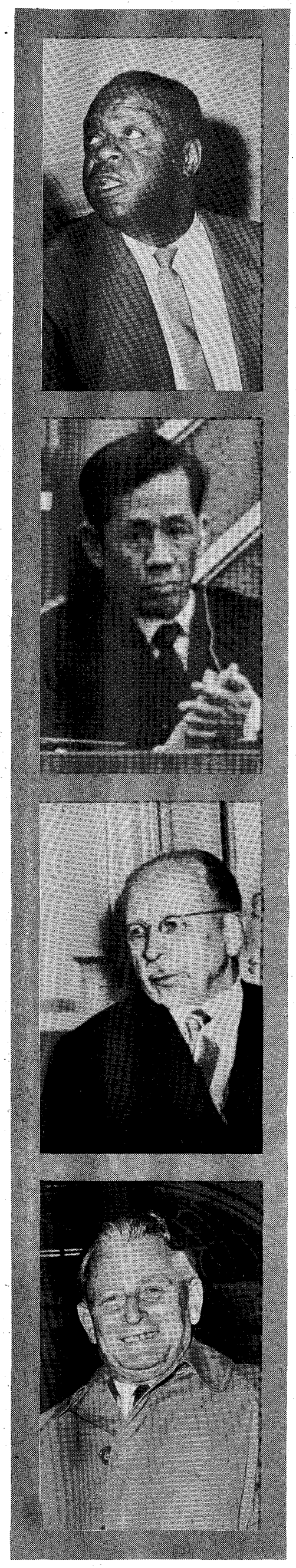
Another noticeable absence from the Party Congress was Nikita Khrushchev. The most popular rumor at the Congress was that Khrushchev had recently been undergoing medical treatment at a Moscow hospital and according to unofficial information he only returned home a few days prior to the Congress. It is known, however, that Khrushchev has not been stripped of all his power and has remained a member of the CPSU Central Committee and a deputy of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR.

The prize for the shortest stay at the Congress would have to go to the Algerian delegation. Their abrupt departure on the first day of the Congress can only serve to further the deterioration of Soviet and Algerian relations. On March 24 the Soviets invited the Algerian government to send representatives of the Algerian FLN to Moscow. The delegation arrived on the 25th and was back in Algeria on March 31. The Algerians (led by Charif Belkacem) left the Congress when they discovered that the Soviet leaders were going to recognize the representatives of the Algerian Communist party from the podium. The Algerian Communist party is outlawed in Algeria and the only political party is the FLN.

Once the delegates finally got settled down to business they heard interminable speeches by various Communist leaders

Continued on page 10

Communist party boss Leonid Brezhnev, flanked by Mikhail Suslov (left) and Alexei Kosygin, opened the recent 23rd Soviet Party Congress with a demand that U.S. troops withdraw from Viet Nam and at the same time held out the olive branch to the Chinese Communists.



From top to bottom the following world Communist figures were among those attending the Moscow meeting: Henry Winston, United States; Le Duan, North Viet Nam; Walter Ulbricht, East Germany; and Antonin Novotny, Czechoslovakia.

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The plight of the American Indian makes a mockery of the idea that federal government bureaucrats spending billions of tax dollars can banish poverty. Despite the appropriation of $1.5 billion over the past six years—and many millions before that—the

U. S. Indians still have the lowest per capita income, an unemployment rate 10 times the national level, the highest mortality rate and an average of only a fifth-grade education. This after being almost wards of the federal government for decades.

Has the Government Really Helped the U.S. Indians?

By FULTON LEWIS JR.

A Senate committee of 10 Democrats and five Republicans has unanimously accused federal bureaucrats of holding almost 400,000 Americans in perpetual bondage.

The Bureau of Indian Affairs has grown into a vast bureaucracy, with 22,000 employes regulating the daily lives of 380,000 subjects on reservations throughout the country.

Despite the appropriation of $1.5 billion over the past six years, the U.S. Indian still lives in shocking poverty. He has the highest rate of unemployment, the lowest per capita income, the steepest death rate. The Senate Interior Committee placed the blame on the federal government.

In a no-holds-barred report, the committee said:

"For fiscal 1967, the Bureau of Indian Affairs is asking for $238 million and the Indian Health Division for almost $88 million, a total of nearly one-third of a billion dollars. It is proposed that an additional 1,200 employes be hired. Notwithstanding these burgeoning appropriations and the effect of so many thousands of employes, poverty and squalor continue to plague many reservations. We are shocked by this situation. That Indians remain at the bottom of the economic ladder, live in the poorest housing and suffer chronic poverty is a clear indictment of past programs and policies pursued by the bureau."

The committee charged that bureau officials had repeatedly frustrated the efforts of U.S. Indians to become self-sufficient.

"The bureau has tenaciously held onto its wards, without whom it would have no reason to exist," the committee said.

A dozen years ago, the bureau conceded that several tribes under its jurisdiction were qualified to fully manage their own affairs. In the intervening years, bureau officials have steadfastly refused to give these tribes—the Pawnees, the Kalispels and the Flandreaux Sante Sioux—their independence.

The Colville Indians of Washington state have time and again, by overwhelming vote, asked the Great White Father to grant them freedom. The Senate last year passed legislation to achieve this goal, but bureau officials sabotaged the bill in the House.

Sen. Henry Jackson (D.-Wash.), chairman of the Interior Committee, says the bureau paid no attention to the Kalispel Indians of California until they had won a $2.7-million award from the Indian Claims Commission.

"Then they moved in like locusts," Jackson says. "They had all the sociologists, the economic experts, what have you, figuring out how they could tie them forever to the reservation."

Sen. Frank Church (D.-Idaho), who has studied the bureau for several years, terms the management of Indian lands a scandal. Much reservation land is held by the government in so-called trust for individuals or tribes. If an Indian wants to sell or improve his land, permission must be granted through a labyrinthine hierarchy involving delays, uncertainty, endless legal interpretations and frustrations.

Other reservations are owned outright by the government. Sen. Church has introduced a bill to permit Indians to purchase their own land and to get out from under what he calls a "web of paternalistic control and regulation." The legislation has languished in the House and bureau officials have refused to work for its enactment.

During 1965, more than 16,000 Indian children between the ages of 8 and 16 were not enrolled in school. Half were forced to forego schooling because of a lack of facilities.

Congress enacted legislation 10 years ago directing the secretary of the interior to conduct a study of Indian education in the United States. The study was never made.

Sen. Jackson recently queried Robert L. Bennett, nominated by President Johnson to be commissioner of Indian Affairs. Jackson asserted "there is no excuse in the world for the lack of educational opportunity" afforded Indian youngsters. Bennett, a career employe of the Bureau of Indian Affairs, agreed.

The committee approved Bennett's nomination, but directed him to submit within 90 days a comprehensive plan to reorganize the bureau.

"These Americans of Indian birth should no longer be denied the equal opportunities open to all in a free society," the committee said. "These descendants of our very first citizens should be freed from unnecessary bureaucratic entanglement and outdated concepts and allowed to take their long-awaited, rightful place in our national life."

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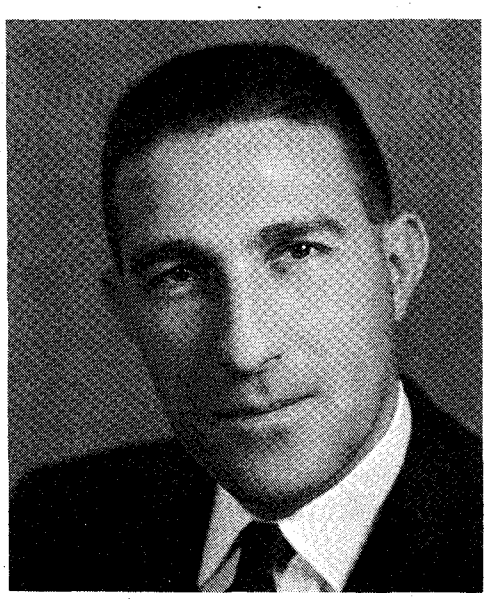

The Bureau of Indian Affairs comes under Secretary Steward Udall's Department of the Interior.

Ex-Convicts on the 'War on Poverty' Payroll

From the Richmond *News Leader*

Congressman William Ayres, in denouncing the anti-poverty agency in the Nation's Capital for hiring ex-convicts, has pointed up one of the more serious problems in the "War on Poverty": The lack of realistic guidelines in the screening and hiring of employes.

In Washington, as Mr. Ayres disclosed, at least three habitual criminals have been hired to work for the anti-poverty agency.

One, employed as a counselor in the Neighborhood Youth Corps at $8,000 a year, had a record dating back to 1952. As recently as last October, he was charged with passing a worthless check. A second man, working as a youth counselor at $8,650 a year, deserted from the Army in 1944. Since that time he has accrued a criminal record of some substance, including charges of soliciting for prostitution, forgery and grand larceny. A third man, working in a neighborhood development program at $4,140 a year, has a record dating back to 1949, including charges of larceny, a sex offense and violation of bail.

Officials in the Washington program admitted that Mr. Ayres's accusations were correct, and that at least 40 employes of the 676 employed in the District's "War on Poverty" program had criminal records. Of these, "only four" had been fired because of new crimes committed after they had been hired by the agency. Apparently, a 10 per cent failure is regarded as a tolerable record in the strange logic that passes for reason in most anti-poverty endeavors.

Meanwhile, the Bureau of Reclamation, which operates a Job Corps camp in Casper, Wyo., has come under fire for hiring a camp instructor, Lee Banks, with a criminal record ranging from rape to narcotics. Subsequently, Banks, a 320-pound Negro, brutally beat a Casper businessman and fractured his skull. On his application he had listed only one arrest and the camp's administration had no knowledge of the other arrests until after the assault, when a report from the Civil Service Commission in Washington finally was received.

Because of the unpleasant publicity that followed the Casper case, Sargent Shriver's office issued a new directive that no persons with convictions "involving moral turpitude" should be hired by anti-poverty agencies. However, the OEO has not moved to implement the order either by enforcement or by issuing strict guidelines.

The hiring of ex-convicts has been rationalized by anti-poverty officials on the grounds that ex-convicts are among the poor and thus can communicate better with the impoverished. That may be true, but there also may be any number of poor persons without criminal records who can communicate equally as well with their own kind.

Reason suggests that anti-poverty workers among indigent youths at least should set better examples than ex-convicts whose records speak only too well of their attitudes toward society.

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Continued from Page 8

Communists Call for Return of 'Socialist Realism'

trying to outdo each other in being the most boring.

The Soviet speakers played the role of moderates to the hilt in their dispute with the Chinese. All of these speakers made it obvious that the Soviet Union is not going to simply read the Chinese out of the world movement. In fact, Brezhnev would only say that "our relations with the parties of two Socialist countries—the Communist party of China and the Albanian Party of Labor—unfortunately remain unsatisfactory"; that a new bilateral top-level meeting in Moscow or Peking would be useful and expressed readiness at any moment to examine again jointly with the Chinese leadership the existing differences so as to find some way to overcome them.

He went on to state that the "CPSU is against any hegemony in the Communist movement, and stands for truly internationalist, equal relations among all parties."

If the Russians appeared to be in a conciliatory mood regarding the Chinese, they were certainly not advocating peace when it came to the United States and the other "capitalist powers." Brezhnev made this clear when he said "American aggression is a fact apparent to all."

He went on to charge that "In connection with the American aggression in Viet Nam and other aggressive actions by U.S. imperialism, our relations with the United States have worsened and the blame lies on the ruling circles of the United States."

Even then the Chinese refused to believe the militancy of the Russians and retorted editorially: "But the Khrushchev revisionists, at the very time when imperialism is heading toward extinction, worship U.S. imperialism as a god and willingly enter into its service as an accomplice."

It was assumed that the Russians would not use this Congress to even answer this absurd Chinese charge and that until the Vietnamese war clarifies itself no more specific action would be taken against the Chinese Communists. No matter what the internal controversies about "short-run" methods of fighting the capitalists, both the Russians and Chinese are determined to drive us out of Viet Nam.

In speech after speech at the 23rd Congress the delegates condemned the United States and praised the delegations from North Viet Nam and the Viet Cong.

Viet Nam received the most attention from the delegates, but Berlin was not ignored. The Soviet leaders and their worldwide counterparts made it clear at the Congress that they intend to put the pressure back on Berlin and to harass the United States in Western Europe as much as possible. Brezhnev claimed that "one of the most dangerous factors for the cause of peace today is a sort of bilateral military alliance now taking shape between the ruling circles of the U.S.A. and the Federal Republic of Germany."

The three surprises, at least to most foreign observers, at the Congress dealt with economics, Stalin and intellectual freedom. Brezhnev admitted that the Soviet economy was not meeting expectations. "For a number of reasons, the Seven-Year Plan targets were not met on some important indices," Brezhnev said. "This applies in the first place to agriculture . . . the lagging of agriculture began to noticeably impede our forward movement, had a negative effect on the rates of growth of the light and food industries, did not permit us to accomplish in full the planned measures in raising the living standards of the people."

A few days later the chairman of the State Planning Committee, Nikolai Baibakov, told the Congress that the Soviet growth rate had actually slipped 2 per cent in the past five years. According to Soviet figures, even accounting for questionable actual percentages, the growth rate is now estimated to be at 6 per cent compared to 8.2 per cent in the 1956-60 period.

The speakers also laid the groundwork for explaining future economic setbacks. The war in Viet Nam, coupled with the Berlin situation, added up to announced cutbacks in consumer products and a warning to the Soviet people not to expect much butter with their bullets.

A number of delegates had been forewarned that this Congress would begin the process of reinstating Joseph Stalin to the hierarchy of Communist heroes. Following the 20th Party Congress in 1956, when Khrushchev originally admitted that Stalin was involved in crimes of monstrous proportion, his name has become an anathema to the vast majority of the Soviet people.

Still, all of the older Soviet leaders gained their positions of power and prestige by being an integral part of the Stalin operation. Khrushchev, Brezhnev, Kosygin, etc., all served their apprenticeships and gained their party status under the leadership of Stalin. Too many questions were being raised about these men's pasts for them to continue unqualified vilification of Stalin.

The 23rd Congress, therefore, began the long process of reintroducing Stalin back into the mythology of the Soviet and worldwide Communist movement.

Brezhnev took the lead in this matter and proposed that the Congress change the title of the Central Committee's ruling Presidium back to Politburo—a title that was infamous under Stalin's rule. Later, the Russian Communist party boss suggested that the Party Central Committee should be ruled by a general secretary. And although he attempted to justify this proposition with quotes from Lenin, the delegates knew that the only general secretary in Soviet history was Joseph Stalin.

A few days later most of the Communist press had taken its cue and were beginning to take a more "realistic" look at old Joe Stalin. A Czech newspaper wrote: " J.V. Stalin, too, is a personality inseparable from history. The purely human and emotional attitude the people preserve in their remembrances of the period of the '30s is pushing through the filter of irrefutable facts, documents and acts. It is being enriched by rational knowledge and the objective evaluation history imprints upon people's minds."

But possibly the most revealing aspect of the nature of communism came when speaker after speaker signified a conscious policy of enforcing a return to "Socialist realism" in all art and literature. This return to a Stalinist type of controlled art was not only flung in the face of foreign delegations, who in some cases have made public statements in opposition to such controls, but it openly antagonized a number of the younger Communists at the Congress.

For nearly a year now the split between the older and younger Communists within the Soviet bloc has been widening. One of the principal points of contention between the generations is the question of internal freedom within the bloc countries. The poems of Yevtushenko and other younger poets have captured the imagination of the Communist youth and many young artists and musicians have also turned to creating material not in conformity with the stated demands of "Socialist realism"; e.g., the woman on the tractor plowing the field for the good of socialism.

The older Communists have been concerned over this trend to "liberalism" for some time and articles have appeared throughout the bloc countries attacking the adventurism and newfound ideas of the youth. Still, no matter how much their Communist elders complain about their art, poetry and music, the tide has not been stilled.

Then came the case of Andrei Sinyavsky and Yuli Daniel, the two Soviet writers sentenced to seven and five years at hard labor in Siberia because they published anti-Soviet writings abroad under pseudonyms. Their arrest, semi-secret trial and harsh sentences both enraged and frightened the young people of the bloc countries.

It was an obvious show of force by the Communist regime and a warning to the young that experimentation and anti-Soviet writing would not be tolerated. The real nature of the Communist state was shown with the harsh sentences and the object lesson was not lost on the young Communists.

The trial and sentencing of Daniel and Sinyavsky could not, however, go unnoticed by the foreign Communist parties. The French and Italian CPs appeared dismayed at the sentence and leading CP intellectuals in those countries openly condemned the harshness of the Soviet methods. Even the American Communists were somewhat dismayed: At least it was hard for them to justify the sentences and still proclaim how "liberal and civil libertarian" all Communists are supposed to be.

A week before the 23rd Congress a group of 25 Soviet intellectuals, including noted scientists, authors and artists, sent a letter to Brezhnev expressing alarm not only at the sentencing of Daniel and Sinyavsky but also at the proposed reinstatement of Stalin into the life of the USSR. The government ignored this letter as well as the petitions of hundreds of foreign writers and poets condemning the trial and sentencing of the two Russian authors.

Not only did the Soviet government ignore the protests, but it struck back in a manner typical of the authoritarian nature of the Communists. Brezhnev himself set the stage during his opening speech at the Congress: "We are invariably guided by the principle of partisanship of art, a class approach to the appraisal of everything that is being done in the sphere of culture." He then attacked "hack writers who, instead of helping the people, specialize in smearing our order, slandering our heroic people."

Then the delegates to the Congress were subjected to the speech of the government's literary spokesman, Mikhail Sholokhov. Sholokhov is wheeled out whenever the CPSU needs a writer to support the government's political line. And, as expected, Sholokhov played his role as government agent to the hilt.

In a wild speech he denounced Daniel and Sinyavsky as "traitors" and then said "Had these rascals with black consciences been caught in the memorable 1920s when judgment was not strictly defined by articles of the criminal code but was guided by a revolutionary sense of justice, the punishment meted out to these turncoats would have been quite different." And while Sholokhov yearned for the good old days, he viciously turned on those who questioned the sentences and jail terms:

"I feel ashamed, not for those who slandered our homeland and flung mud at everything most sacred to us. They are amoral. I am ashamed for those who tried and are trying to defend them, no matter how this defense is explained. I feel doubly ashamed for those who offer their services, who offer to vouch for the condemned outcasts."

Sholokhov's philippic shocked many of the younger foreign Communists who have welcomed an apparent relaxation of Soviet censorship that coincided with de-Stalinization. Of all the events at the Congress, the crackdown by the Soviet Union on all its artists and critics created the most dissension within the Communist ranks. Still, the leaders of the French and Italian CPs did not attempt to refute either Brezhnev or Sholokhov.

Following Sholokhov's speech there was much discussion among the foreign delegates, especially the French and Italians, of "artistic standards" in the Soviet Union (i.e., the suppression of intellectual freedom). Few could ignore the connection between the trend toward whitewashing Stalin and this most recent example of the Soviet Union's inability to tolerate intellectual deviation. Current Soviet leaders can ill afford to condemn the repressions of Stalin's regime in the face of the punishment meted out to Sinyavsky and Daniel.

The American Communist party delegates remained noticeably mute during the discussion of artistic censorship. Back in the United States "letters" suddenly began to appear in the *Worker* supporting the jailing of the two Russian writers and condemning the critics in the strongest language. The "line" has been given and the sheep have all fallen into rank.

The final word on the 23rd Party Congress was given by Brezhnev when he said "The Soviet people regard the party as their leader and the organizer of all their victories . . . the road along which the party is leading the Soviet people is the only correct Leninist road." This Congress should give pause to those people who seem to believe that the Soviet Communists are liberalizing and modifying their totalitarian plans and concepts.

□ □ □

CPUSA BEST-SELLER—A leader of the Communist Party, U.S.A., says the first 50,000 copies of the party's new program have been sold out. "I'm starting on the next 50,000," said Joseph Brandt, business manger of the *Worker*, official party organ. The party has scheduled its first national convention since 1958 for New York City in June.

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'War on Business' Waged in San Francisco

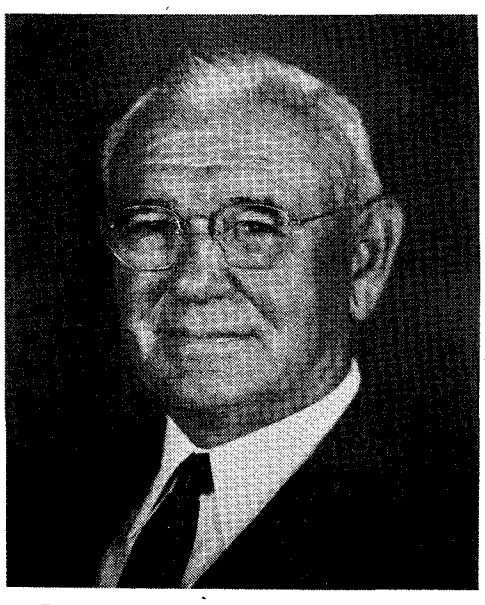
'Poverty' Funds Used to Set Up Cooperatives

By REP. J. ARTHUR YOUNGER (R.-Calif.)

A rather strange situation has arisen in the San Francisco Bay area in connection with the operation of the Office of Economic Opportunity, especially in regard to its activities called Bay Area Neighborhood Development (BAND), which apparently has a one-year grant of some $256,251 to conduct an experimental demonstration in consumer education and action.

What they are actually doing is promoting the establishment of cooperative stores in opposition to local independent business institutions.

Mr. C. Wilson Harder, president of



Rep. Younger fears the Administration is determined to destroy small business.

the National Federation of Independent Business, Inc., wrote a letter to Mr. Robert Sargent Shriver, director of the Office of Economic Opportunity on this subject, to which he has received no reply. I quote from that letter:

"Mr. Robert Sargent Shriver

"Director, Office of Economic Opportunity

"Washington, D.C.

"Dear Mr. Shriver: Some time ago we wrote you concerning the reported usage of 'War on Poverty' funds to establish cooperative stores in the San Francisco Bay area, and asked if such reports were accurate.

"We have received no reply from you, but under the date of February 17 did receive a letter from Mr. Herbert Kramer of your office who stated the Bay Area Neighborhood Development Foundation has received a one-year grant of $256,251 to conduct an experimental demonstration in consumer education and action. The letter then goes on to say the residents of these impoverished areas may decide they would like to establish a cooperative store. This is followed by a most remarkable statement. We believe this is totally in keeping with the free enterprise spirit.

"It is also interesting to note that literature given out at BAND offices in San Francisco states its articles of incorporation include these purposes:

" 'To provide specific information about the formation and operation of consumer cooperatives to individuals and groups interested in the formation of such cooperatives.'

"This literature further states that the members of the board of directors of Associated Cooperatives, an organization of local consumer cooperatives, are the sole voting members of BAND, and that they select the BAND board.

"We have also noted with interest that in the San Francisco *Examiner* of March 6 it is reported that after the protests raised, Mr. Sanford Kravitz of your office flew to San Francisco to order the BAND group to stop publicizing their cooperative activities and to 'stop dealing in specific solutions such as cooperatives and preach instead general concepts.'

"Mr. Shriver, at this point, on behalf of our more than 210,000 independent business proprietors across the nation, we would like to ask a question.

"Do you honestly believe that a leopard can change its spots? Do you believe that an organization controlled entirely by dyed-in-the-wool believers in cooperatives instead of free enterprise, with more than a quarter of a million dollars of other people's money to play with, are going to quit agitating for tax-exempt cooperatives to compete with private, taxpaying enterprises?

"Also, do you believe that it is proper, or equitable, to collect taxes from private business and its employes, to furnish the ammunition needed for such groups to carry on anti-private business agitation?

"Mr. Shriver, how far do you intend to go in using the fruits of free enterprise to promote Socialistic concepts?

"We would appreciate an answer from you, because the independent business proprietors, since this disclosure was made, are asking these questions:

"1. Is the poverty program anti-business?

"2. Information received indicates that in addition to the grant from you of $256,000, Associated Cooperatives are also putting up an undetermined amount. Is this to be interpreted that the funds you gave will be used to agitate for cooperative stores, while money for the actual physical setting up of such cooperative stores will come from the Associated Cooperatives?

"You can appreciate that these are logical questions that are being asked. In other words, they would like to know if this quarter of a million dollars-plus grant was made to these people with the purpose of helping destroy private business, or was it due to a colossal administrative error?

"Sincerely yours,

"C. Wilson Harder,

"President."

This seems to be another example of where the Administration is determined to destroy small businesses and defeat the creation of new jobs in the private sector.

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PROFESSIONAL AGITATORS—In a report to the New York *Times Magazine* on political activity in Berkeley, Calif., A.H. Raskin finds that the Vietnam Day Committee (VDC)—which has been spearheading anti-American demonstrations around the country—is neither the amateurish nor spontaneous operation it has been reported to be. On the contrary, notes Raskin, there is an air of "professionalism" about the VDC and its paid agitators. The VDC has its headquarters just off the Berkeley campus and became a center of attention recently when it distributed leaflets to members of the armed forces urging them to do as little fighting as possible, even if it meant a court martial. Raskin says, "The committee has a dozen full-time workers, each of whom gets $100 a month and none of whom is currently a student. . . ."

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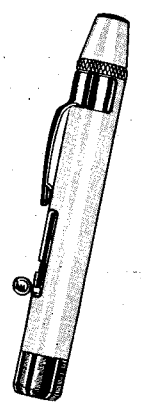

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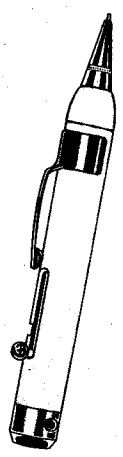

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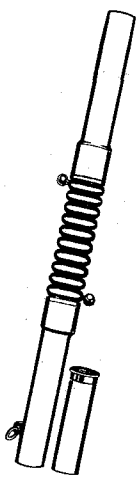

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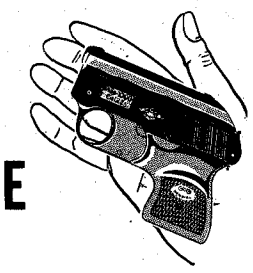

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The New York 'Times' Is Not America

By ALICE WIDENER

Brussels, Belgium:—Reporters from the outstanding Belgian newspapers, *Le Standard* (Flemish) and *Le Soir* (French) interviewed me yesterday on current events. It was supposed to be a one-way affair, but the reporters' questions were so revealing of current Belgian and European attitudes that I asked them as many questions as they asked me.

Among theirs, two were foremost: (1) "Is it true the American people are against the war in Viet Nam?" and (2) "Why is there so much misunderstanding in Europe of the American mentality, and in America of the European?"

It became clear in the reporters' replies to my questions that their opinion about the American attitude toward the war in Viet Nam is based mainly on one source of information—the New York Times, which is opposed to the Administration's policy. Here in Brussels, the leading press and TV commentaries on our Viet Nam policy are based on New York Times editorials and news stories.

On April 5, for example, the front page of *Le Soir* carried a long article which began, "Will Gen. Ky's military junta, which governs South Viet Nam, open a second front of operations [against central Viet Nam]? This is the question raised by the New York *Times* . . . which believes a change in regime will become imperative in Saigon." (On the same page of *Le Soir* there was a column by Walter Lippmann, another opponent of our policy in Viet Nam, whose opinions are touted by our intelligentsia as a kind of Voice of America.)

After a week of reading French, German and Italian newspapers and also the international edition of the New York *Times*, I am of the opinion that neither the Administration in Washington nor the American people are getting their message across to Europeans. If this isn't being done here where our allies are, then how can it be done in Hanoi, Peking and Moscow?

In reply to the Belgian reporters' reiterated objections, "But the New York *Times* says . . . " I found myself stammering defensively, "But the New York *Times* isn't America." Then I asked whether they believed the U.S. government is a dictatorship. "If the American people and their Congress were 100 per cent opposed to the Administration's policy," I said, "do you suppose our President would completely defy them? In reality, most Americans support our policy of opposing Communist aggression in Viet Nam."

To my utter astonishment, both reporters blurted out, "Then why, long ago, didn't the United States use its real force to win the war quickly and get it over with?"

I mumbled something about our being told at home, mainly by the New York *Times* and the Washington *Post*, that "public opinion" among our allies in Western Europe is opposed to such an exercise of American military force. "The contrary!" cried both reporters. "The sooner you win, the better we will like it, and the better it will be for us all. We can't afford an American withdrawal or loss of prestige. It would be catastrophic for the West."

I said that is what most Americans believe.

"You see, there exactly is the misunderstanding again!" they said. "*Why* is there so much misunderstanding across the Atlantic?"

The young Flemish reporter, a graduate of Oxford University who speaks excellent English, said, "In England, my roommate was an American from Pennsylvania. After a while, I simply couldn't believe my ears. Everything he told me was completely different from the New York Times editorials. And he is cultured, very bright and enormously interested in foreign affairs."

I pointed out that a serious cause of American misunderstanding of Europeans is lack of objective American reporting on European views. "Take your country, Belgium," I said. "You've just had an election in which the Party of Liberty and Progress (formerly Liberal party, meaning conservative) enjoyed big gains in the government. Your new Economics Minister Van Offelen is an important figure in the PLP. Its energetic, brainy president, Omer Vanaudenhove, has long held the balance of political power in Belgium. Yet aside from my own comments about him over the last few years, I never have read about him in the American press.

"Two days ago, the New York *Times* carried an editorial, 'New Faces in Belgium,' which was almost entirely devoted to an *adieu* to Socialist Paul Henri Spaak, as your foreign minister. Almost nobody in America knows anything at all about your new prime minister, Paul Vanden Boeynants, or about Vanaudenhove, yet it is he who made possible your new center-right government."

It was the Belgian reporters' turn to be amazed.

What is the explanation of all this? Is there virtually a monopoly over trans-Atlantic communications, with most foreign news derived from and channeled through one principal source, the New York *Times*? It would seem so, and I believe it is a pity. We Americans are traditionally against monopolies, whether financial, industrial or intellectual.

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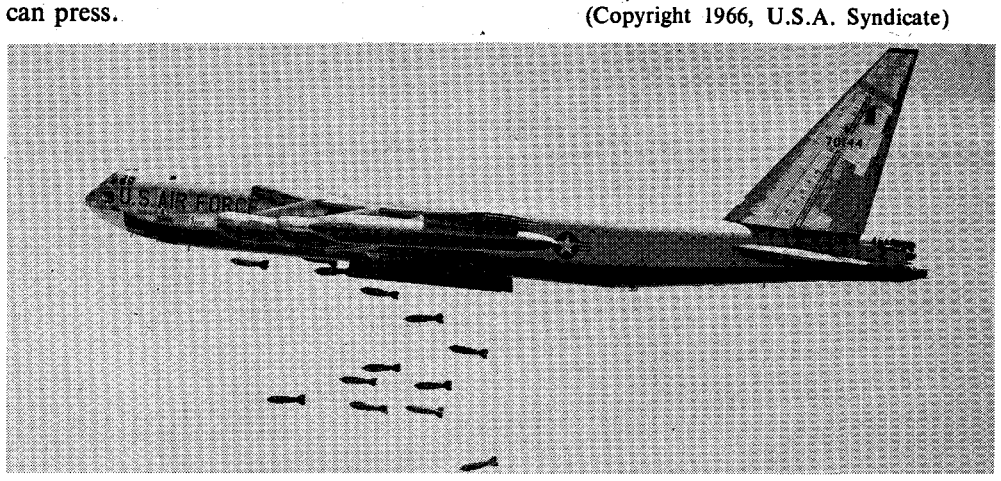

McNamara and the B-52

By BARRY GOLDWATER

"The weight of the attack of the B-52s is almost beyond comprehension."

This statement might seem excessive to American laymen, but not to military men who watched the action on March 27 when 100,000 pounds of explosives were dropped by B-52s on the thick mangrove swamps of Viet Nam in support of a Marine offensive.

Observers who watched this and subsequent raids which originated in Guam describe them variously as "awesome" and "devastating."

The first quoted statement in this column is especially important in light of current Defense Department policies.

It is not mine, although I strongly advocate the manned bomber and greatly admire the B-52. Nor does it belong to Gen. Curtis LeMay, former Air Force chief of staff who more than any other man is responsible for the use of our B-52 fleet in Viet Nam.

The glowing tribute came from Defense Secretary Robert McNamara, the same McNamara who has decided to do away with the B-52 and refuses to give the go-ahead for the construction of a more advanced manned bomber to replace it.

McNamara apparently was carried away in his discussion of the B-52 during hearings before the Senate Armed Services Committee. When he described the plane's performance in Asia as "almost beyond comprehension," committee chairman Richard B. Russell (D.-Ga.) interrupted:

"After that very eloquent defense of the B-52, Mr. Secretary, are you ready to change your mind about phasing them out?"

"No, sir," he shot back. "I think that we should proceed just as we have proposed."

McNamara did not explain what we would do in Viet Nam for troop support and other non-nuclear bombing if we did not have the B-52. Nor did he concede that the Communists' intention to push their wars of national liberation far into the future makes the need for a carry-on manned bomber an imperative item for our conventional defense arsenal.

Viet Nam is providing dramatic evidence that we cannot rest our entire defense structure on ICBMs and guided missiles. But apparently it is not yet sufficient to prompt the self-confident McNamara to admit to a tactical error of great and fundamental importance.

The main bone of contention between Congress and McNamara is the secretary's adamant refusal to bow to congressional demands for continuing the manned bomber program. He seems to look upon his position in a personal way, regarding the persistent congressional demands as a major challenge to his judgment and authority.

I wish I could believe that personal considerations play no part in a decision of such vital importance to our future defense. But this becomes difficult in the light of exchanges like the one between McNamara and Sen. Russell.

McNamara is not one to question his own judgment. Nor is he inclined to admit that he might have made a mistake or two in the many thousands of decisions he has handed down as secretary of defense.

Only once in my memory has he made such an admission, and when he did it caused headlines. "McNamara Admits Error" bannered the Washington *Evening Star*.

The error, however, was so obvious on its face that not even McNamara could dream up a chart to refute it. It involved his decision to cut back the military helicopter program in 1965, thereby creating a serious shortage in Viet Nam.

"It was an error," McNamara told the Russell committee. "I made a mistake."

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That Simply Awful Ronald Reagan

By MORRIE RYSKIND

I try to be fair. And, since I at times lambaste a palpably slanted piece in an irresponsible paper, it is incumbent on me to doff my hat when a representative liberal journal presents the facts accurately. Even when, in so doing, it makes a firm case against a friend of mine.

Some of you will think me chauvinistic in bestowing this unusual accolade on a weekly in my home town, Beverly Hills. But I give my word that I don't know the editor and publisher—a fact he will doubtless be only too glad to confirm—and that the coveted Ryskind Award was made on merit alone.

Here, so you may judge for yourself, is the laconic but cogent front-page editorial. Headed "Moderation," it more than fulfills its promise:

"The California Republican Assembly has endorsed Ronald Reagan, and the California Young Republicans are shouting Reagan hosannahs. However, Reagan's campaign strategists are expected to balance this slightly extremist support for their candidate by seeking the endorsement of such responsible, middle-road groups as the KKK, White Citizens' Councils and the American Nazi party."

Now, that is certainly only Good Clean Fun, and nothing that any fair-minded reader can possibly object to. If you read into it the implication that Reagan is viciously anti-Semitic, that is your own conclusion. Let no one say that the Beverly Hills *Courier*, which just happens to be published in a town with a large percentage of Jews, is guilty of using the Big Lie. Heavens to Betsy, no! After all, an innuendo is not a direct charge—and only if the shoe fits, need Ronnie put it on.

But I'm dirty-minded—as if I had to tell you—and I read the *Courier's* message loud and clear. It probably serves me right for playing around with Republicans—especially the Gentiles, though, come to think of it, the Jews who vote GOP aren't any better.

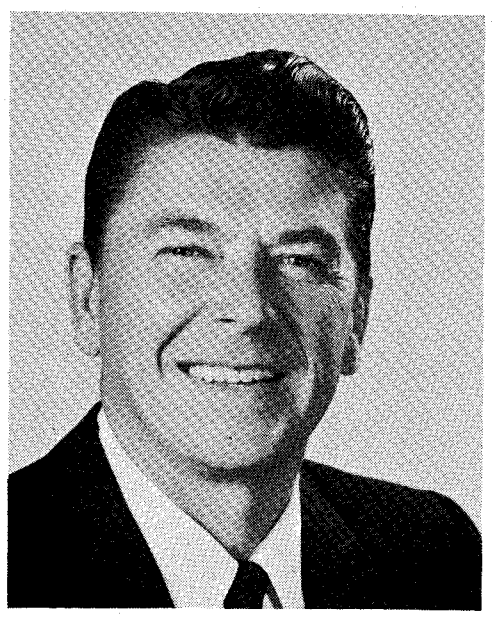
I should have remembered my history and recalled the frightful pogroms that took place in this century during the administrations of McKinley, Teddy Roosevelt, Taft, Harding, Coolidge, Hoover and, later, Eisenhower. But I became a GOP addict in 1940, when I got in with some bad company, and I just haven't been able to shake the habit since. It's a costly habit and sometimes I wish they'd legalize it.

Until 1947, I knew Ronnie Reagan as only a nodding acquaintance in Hollywood's movie colony. Politics had by then drawn a line of demarcation, and I would more likely be lunching or dining with someone like George Murphy, another ex-New Yorker with whom I had left the party of Jefferson when it abandoned his historic stand against a third term.

But Ronnie had an Achillean heel—he couldn't stand Communists. And in 1947 he, Murphy and I—among many others, I hasten to add—testified in Washington about the comrades' attempts to take over Hollywood. Like all decent fascists, we looked under our beds every night for Russia Firsters but never found any. But, boy, did they show up in droves for guild meetings!

That testimony brought down on our heads the wrath of the industry's liberals, and the contumely heaped on us as "character assassins" stunned Reagan, though Murphy and I were used to it. So gradually Ronnie joined our pariahs' table to break bread with us.

Well, one thing led to another—the way marijuana leads to heroin—and we knew Ronnie was hooked when he began worrying about the monolithic state and even lecturing on its evils. By 1964,



Why wasn't Ronald Reagan ever attacked as an anti-Semite when he was a Democrat?

he was out on the hustings plumping for Murphy for senator and Goldwater for President. I suppose I should have realized then that Ronnie was an anti-Semite, though I must say he concealed it superbly all those years he was a Democrat.

I must be easy to fool, for I never got wise till the Courier unmasked him. When I visited him, he was extremely careful never to have a flaming cross on his lawn. Though I walked around his grounds often, I never saw his slave quarters. And, though his house was comfortably warm in cold weather, how was I to guess the heat came from a secret crematorium?

But, thanks to the *Courier* expose, it's all out in the open now. Still, I think more people ought to know about this terrible person—and I hereby offer $1,000 to be donated to the *Courier's* pet charity if it will produce any documentation to back up its innuendo that Ronnie Reagan has in any way displayed a scintilla of anti-Semitism.

Otherwise, I'm apt to vote for him in the primaries. That's how far gone I am.

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HERBLOCK BLASTED—Former Postmaster General J. Edward Day, a Democrat who served in the administration of President Kennedy, has sharply criticized Herblock, the ultra-liberal cartoonist for the Washington *Post* and other papers throughout the country. In a letter published in the *Post*, Day said, "Once again, with his Dirksen 'phony prayer campaign,' Herblock has hit below the belt. . . . Why is one, like myself, who favors an opportunity for prayer in schools, linked with club-carrying thugs who are against equal rights? Do the super-liberals have no tolerance?"

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BOBBY BAKER TRIAL—Sen. Hugh Scott (R.-Pa.) has charged that Bobby Baker's trial date is part of a "palpable scheme" to prevent his sordid story from coming out until after the November elections. "Politics has again reared its ugly head," Scott said in reference to Baker's trial, set for October 17. "That date is significant to anyone who has practiced law as long as I have. The purpose of this listing unquestionably is in order for counsel for Baker to come in and say the defendant is entitled to at least one continuance or postponement, and then of course it will be postponed until after the election." Had the trial been set for September, Scott said, it could have been postponed for a month and still Baker could have been brought to trial before the election.

BOOK NOTES

A Book-By-Mail Service For HUMAN EVENTS Readers

That we take note of a book here does not necessarily mean we fully endorse it, nor even that it is written from a conservative viewpoint. It means merely that we regard it as one which may have an impact on political thinking, and accordingly may be of interest to our readers.

THE EDITORS

TENTACLES OF POWER: THE STORY OF JIMMY HOFFA, by Clark R. Mollenhoff (World Publishing Co., 415 Pages, $6.50).

One of the nation's most skilled and respected reporters, the author of the recent **Despoilers of Democracy** has written another superb book, this time about the McClellan Labor Rackets Committee's four-year investigation of labor-management relations. These hearings were to produce the evidence leading to Hoffa's trial and conviction.

In 1958, Mollenhoff won a Pulitzer Prize for his reporting in the field of labor racketeering. That background, combined with keen perception, has produced a most useful view of the Hoffa empire.

OUR VIETNAM NIGHTMARE, by Marguerite Higgins (Harper & Row, 314 Pages, $5.95)

DIEM OF VIETNAM, by Anthony T. Bouscaren, (Duquesne University Press, 174 pages, $3.95)

Nobody really knows quite how to assess the impact on our Allies throughout the free world of the ruthless, United States-engineered assassination of President Diem, nor how many American and Vietnamese lives have been needlessly lost because of it. But even so soon after the event it seems safe to say that a leader of rare quality—perhaps the only leader capable of uniting the Vietnamese throughout a protracted war effort—was lost when Diem was assassinated. The magnitude of that disgraceful episode is brought into perspective by Miss Higgins, who won a Pulitzer Prize for combat reporting during the Korean War and who wrote this book with great understanding of Asian affairs.

During her next-to-last assignment in Viet Nam, Miss Higgins contracted a rare tropical disease which cost her her life. **Our Vietnam Nightmare** will long survive as a monument to the overwhelming incapacity of our liberal "planners" to understand the intransigent nature of the Communist enemy. This myopia of the State Department, however, is almost insignificant compared with the conscious duplicity of the Kennedy-Harriman-Lodge-Hillsman axis in condemning the anti-Communist Diem to the assassin's bullet.

In contrast to Miss Higgins' journalist's account of the anti-Diem intrigue, Bouscaren's is the academician's careful account of the colorful life of the Diem family. Professor of Political Science at Le Moyne College, Bouscaren has written an interesting biographical narrative which reveals the carefully cultivated lies contrived about the Diem administration by the Establishment press to prepare public opinion in this country for his assassination.

OF MEN AND NOT OF LAWS, by Lyman A. Garber (Devin Adair Co., 196 pages, $3.95).

Mr. Garber, a California attorney, writes about the erosion of our tripartite system of government and for his effort earns impressive praise from two former presidents of the American Bar Association – Loyd Wright and Frank Holman.

Gen. Thomas Lane, in a review of Garber's book, writes: "Any mature adult who has followed the line of Supreme Court decisions in the past decade is aware of the court's unjudicial character and political disposition. But few laymen or lawyers have (as carefully as Mr. Garber) analysed these decisions to assess the cumulative effect of the court's attack on constitutional government."

SOVIET RUSSIA IN CHINA, by Chiang Kai-shek (Noonday Press, 211 pages, $2.25).

To this revised abridgement of the classic 1957 edition the generalissimo has added a new foreword and updated his conclusions. It details the history of modern China in a way only a leading participant in the epic events of the last five decades could. This history of the rise and fall of free China is a sobering antidote to the gathering propaganda storm of the noisy recognize-Red-China claque.

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The Dominican Merry-Go-Round

From the St. Louis *Globe-Democrat*

There are those who profess to believe that Juan Bosch, the Dominican Revolutionary party's candidate for president in the island republic's June 1 election, though stridently anti-American and far to the left, is still no Communist.

This school of thought holds that the former president, though rankling from the 1963 ouster, if returned to office would be glad enough to have the Inter-American Peace Force—which Communists want to get out—stay around so long as there is any threat to his regime.

In the face of Bosch's record, this is tortured reasoning indeed. Bosch was exiled because of his consistently pro-Communist policies as president.

He packed the government with Communists in key power positions and was well on the way to making the Dominican Republic a second Cuba when U.S. military intervention put the kibosh on the Communists' attempted take-over.

American critics of American action who argued that the uprising a year ago was only a good "democratic revolution" have now been given the lie by the Communists themselves, who not merely admit but boast of their armed complicity in the revolt.

The same American critics also scoffed at those who insisted Castro was a Communist.

Whether Bosch, if elected, would try to get the combined U.S. and Latin American military forces out of the Dominican Republic is, in the long run, begging the question. Regardless of his attitude on this point, Juan Bosch at the Dominican helm would generate a highly undesirable state of affairs in any circumstances.

To argue otherwise is unadulterated Bosch.

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JUST TRY IT—LBJ tells citizens not to buy anything that's priced too high. A good idea. It should be easy to get along without food, clothing and shelter.

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One Minister Who Really Understands Communism

By IRENE CORBALLY KUHN

During a peacenik parade in Newark, N. J., protesting our involvement in the war in Viet Nam, a tall man in a shabby suit pushed into the midst of the demonstrators. He began to harangue them with quiet conviction; to rebuke them for their part in what he told them was a disservice to freedom.

"You will be forced to fight communism here in your own country one day unless you stop it now in Viet Nam," he said.

When the protestors paid no attention to the foreigner who spoke fluent English, he removed his jacket, whipped off his clerical collar and pulled off his shirt.

"What do you know about communism?" he asked angrily. "I'll show you what communism is!"

Silence fell as the marchers looked at the 18 puncture marks and numerous other scars on the stranger's body.

"Do you believe a murderer should not be tortured?" he asked. When they nodded he said, "Do you agree then that a clergyman also should not be tortured?"

The peaceniks stared at the dreadful scars which the Reds had made on this Protestant minister during his 14 years in prison in Rumania.

Pastor Richard Wurmbrand made his point. The demonstrators slunk away, just as their counterparts did in London. On his way here, when he could no longer stand the interminable chanted Red propaganda of dupes there, he had broken up their parade, too.

In the United States for the first time, this extraordinary man, whose faith burns with the same bright flame as St. Paul's, is a convert from Judaism. Orphaned at an early age, his childhood was marred by dreadful poverty and abuse, but he never lost his deep interest in religion, a profound faith in God, and a need to express his faith and love in service. He was pastor of a Lutheran church in Bucharest through the war and secretary of a Lutheran Church mission of mercy and charity to the Jews in Rumania. He started to fight communism when the Reds came into power in Rumania and began their war against religion.

Pastor Wurmbrand resisted their efforts to make him a salaried priest of the state. He worked surreptitiously against the occupying forces. At this time he was also professor of the Old Testament in the Evangelical Seminary and the representative in Rumania for the World Council of Churches.

Even so, this link to that powerful international body did not prevent the Reds from arresting him in 1948. He was charged with every act in the book except rape.

"We can bring substantial charges against you on that count, too, if we look around a bit. We can fake anything," one of his Red interrogators threatened.

The minister's only crime was his devotion to religion, his refusal to become a phony minister who would be answerable to the Reds instead of to God and his conscience.

After eight years he was released from prison but forbidden to carry on any priestly activities. He went underground and in 1959 he was rearrested and imprisoned again for five years. Then, in 1964, negotiations were begun between the Rumanian Communist government and the United States for an economic agreement. The Rumanian Reds were so eager for the millions of American dollars in aid and trade that they released political prisoners.

"The American negotiators were surprised," the pastor said. "They had not pressed. They had merely suggested such release. Anti-Communists in Europe are shocked that the United States and the West, in their dealing with the Reds, let them get away with so much. It's a mistake."

Last December Pastor Wurmbrand was permitted to leave Rumania, following protracted efforts of Norwegian Lutherans and their payment of ransom to free him.

"It was only during the period when the Rumanian Communist government was intent upon getting American aid dollars that they interrupted their demands for money in exchange for freeing anti-Communist prisoners," he said. "Now, again, no one can get out of jail or leave the country without paying money—sometimes as much as $25,000."

The American Lutheran Congregation in Oslo is sponsoring Pastor Wurmbrand's visit here to tell audiences religion is still the prime target of Communists everywhere.

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How Much More of 'Great Society'?

From the Cincinnati *Enquirer*

Years ago, when the New Deal was in its heyday, a comic whose voice sounded remarkably like Franklin D. Roosevelt's amused audiences by proclaiming a grandiose scheme to move the Atlantic Ocean into the Pacific Ocean. "And on the way over," he declared, his cigarette holder at its jauntiest angle, "we'll fill the Grand Canyon with free beer for everyone!"

Lyndon B. Johnson's voice is less melodious than Mr. Roosevelt's; his style, less grand. Yet his aspirations strike us as far more ambitious than any the inimitable FDR might have entertained.

Mr. Johnson gave us a new clue in his San Antonio remarks recently when he told the nation what most Americans already knew—that Medicare for the nation's elderly was only a first step.

The President's newest goal, as outlined in San Antonio, is a federal program to provide dental care for children under the age of six, improved federal insurance protection for widows and orphans, larger income benefits for the nation's aged and increased incentives to people on welfare to find work.

All of these features presumably would be incorporated into the Social Security system, which would mean even further increases in the Social Security tax.

Mr. Johnson, in his San Antonio speech, was admittedly allowing us only a glimpse of the future. The detailed blueprints have yet to be worked out, and his plan apparently is to wait until next year to ask Congress for action.

One result is that the forthcoming congressional elections will serve as something of a referendum for the "Great Society": How much farther do the American people want their government to go in eliminating—or attempting to eliminate—the hazards that accompany life in the mid-20th Century?

We have a feeling that the nation is already shocked by much of the Administration's handiwork in the welfare field—handiwork accomplished in the wake of Mr. Johnson's tremendous election victory in 1964. The question is whether the shock is sufficiently widespread to put on the brakes in November.

Flag-Burning Exceeds 'Liberties'

By VICTOR LASKY

In an orgy of anti-Americanism, an American flag was set afire in a small but crowded downtown New York theater recently and, because the city cracked down, the issue of "civil liberties" predictably has been raised.

The flag-burning occurred as the high point of an alleged theatrical presentation entitled "LBJ," in which among other things a live chicken with its legs tied was strung up on an overhead beam. Exactly what this was supposed to connote was not made clear.

But the hatred of the United States, its President and its flag was made quite clear. "The hell with Lyndon Johnson," was the mildest of the obscenities shouted by two six-year-old children. "Spit on the flag" was another imprecation.

Photographs of the episode show a bearded beatnik named Jose Rodriguez-Soltero, a self-styled artist and film maker, lighting the flag with book matches and a girl in black leotards dancing around the smoke and flame. Witnesses said that the background music was that of *The Ballad of the Green Beret*.

It was a weird scene, indeed, like something out of voodoo-land. "The impact on the audience was sensational," an eyewitness wrote in the *Village Voice*. "Although the event was clumsily performed, reaction to it was vociferous. People screamed, 'Throw him out!'; others applauded wildly. Still others were dumbfounded and puzzled as to how they should react to this extraordinarily anti-American theater piece."

Artist Bob Goldstein was quoted as saying that "It was without exception the most embarrassing and unpleasant experience" he had ever witnessed in a public place. He described the episode as "bad-mannered, done without taste or style. . . . It was not art, just bad social protest."

Goldstein, who runs an art gallery in Greenwich Village, said it could not even be compared with the burning of a draft card. "Burning a draft card is at least an honest statement that is taken directly to the foot of the Establishment. This guy performed almost a criminal act. Also, he should work out his problems in front of a doctor instead of invited, paying guests."

Also in the audience were two inspectors for the city's license department. As a result of their report, License Commissioner Joel Tyler cracked down on the theater by revoking its license.

And, predictably, the producer of this piece of hate-Americanism, a Miss Elsa Tambellini, denounced the city's action as an infringement of freedom of speech and civil liberties. She contended that the theater was being attacked for having presented a play opposed to the war in Viet Nam.

And her lawyer, William Kuntsler, argued that the burning of the flag was simply a symbolic gesture.

The next thing you know these left-wing kooks will be burning down the White House, arguing that it was done simply as a symbolic gesture.

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LBJ's DIRECT ROUTE—The president of the American Medical Association, Dr. James Z. Appel, recently accused the Johnson Administration of leading the nation down the road to socialized medicine. "In the past, under our American system, the government often has assumed social obligations piecemeal—one by one," Appel said in a Chicago speech. "Now, however, we face a new and different situation. The President this time has taken a direct route. He has proposed an explicit commitment by the federal government in the entire field of health and health care."

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SPOTLIGHT on CONGRESS

Steel Mill Gift

By SEN. JOHN TOWER (R.-Tex.)

We have been confronted with an amazing decision on the part of West German, French and British businessmen. Those three nations propose to join in supplying a $150-million steel mill to the Red Chinese. Even more surprising is the weak response made to this idea by the United States State Department. American officials have said nothing that could be considered as a vigorous protest to our allies. . . . As a member of the Senate Armed Services Committee, I have repeatedly heard our military leaders say that the great bulk of war material going to the North Vietnamese and Viet Cong is coming from Communist China. It is inconceivable that our allies should be strengthening the very enemy we fight. It is time our State Department took steps to achieve cooperation from our allies rather than conflict. The most disturbing fact is that our State Department has agreed to an international trading list on which steel mills are listed as "non-strategic" items which we will allow our friends to sell to our enemies. Well, a steel mill is about as "non-strategic" as a Sherman Tank. I hope Congress can take prompt steps to see that steel mills are added to the list of strategic items in which we prohibit trade with the Reds.

Little 'Exchange'

By REP. ROBERT McCLORY (R.-Ill.)

Too many of the foreign students and teachers who sought educational advantages in our country, on the assumption that they would return to their native lands to teach and encourage their compatriots, have failed to go home. Although their preference for the more highly educated and economically advantageous environment of this country is understandable, this should not receive further encouragement. Again, too few American students in foreign lands, including teachers and professors, have immersed themselves in the educational and social atmosphere of foreign lands. The result has been that the educational "exchange" has meant generally the education of large numbers of foreign students and teachers in our public and private schools, with relatively few American foreign exchange students receiving comparable advantages in foreign public schools.

Unwelcome Fishermen

By REP. WENDELL WYATT (R.-Ore.)

We have an outrageous situation repeating itself. . . .At this very moment there are four Russian fishing ships dragging for bottom fish very close to the coast of Oregon. It has been estimated that this fishing fleet is taking one-half a million pounds of fish each day. Last year the Russians fished very close to the Oregon coast but not with the same sized equipment or as many fishing vessels. This Russian fishing fleet has the potential of depleting this great bottom fishery resource. . . . I have appealed to the secretary of state again this year to protest to the Russian government the presence of this fleet. Our State Department frankly has not shown sufficient concern for our fisheries resource. A step in the right direction was taken a few years ago with the establishment of the Office of the Special Assistant for Fisheries and Wildlife to the under secretary. Efforts are now under way to upgrade the status of this office and thereby increase its influence and effectiveness. I join with those who seek this end. . . . Urgent action is needed.

Inflation Advice

By REP. THOMAS CURTIS (R.-Mo.)

If you are really concerned about the low-income groups, you will treat inflation with seriousness and you will not demagogue it. It will not go away by referring to it as a Republican cliche.

'Modest' Tax Hike

By REP. JOHN BUCHANAN (R.-Ala.)

The President has stated that he thought that Congress would rather approve, and I quote, "a modest tax increase, 5-6-7 per cent, corporate and personal—of our tax bill than to see inflation and the value of the dollar go down." I don't know how many congressmen the President talked to, but this congressman would have had some very simple advice: Cut federal spending. Now, just what is the President's notion of a "modest tax increase" to allegedly solve this problem that only a little fiscal sanity in the federal government could really solve? Seven per cent isn't modest in my book. A 7 per cent increase or a 7 per cent decrease in a man's salary is a major event—not a modest one. It strikes me that the President was shockingly casual in his remarks about a 7 per cent increase, particularly when we have yet to hear any statement from him about a modest cut in federal spending.

Dirksen Amendment

Following is the 55-to-38 rollcall vote by which the Senate on April 20 rejected the Dirksen constitutional amendment that would have overturned the Supreme Court's "one-man, one-vote" ruling and allowed the people to decide how to apportion their state legislatures. To pass, a two-thirds majority of senators present was necessary; the vote failed by seven votes, the same margin by which the Senate defeated Dirksen's amendment last summer.

FOR THE AMENDMENT: 55

DEMOCRATS (26): Bartlett, Bible, Byrd (Va.), Byrd (W. Va.), Cannon, Church, Eastland, Ellender, Ervin, Fulbright, Harris, Hayden, Hill, Holland, Jordan (N. C.), Lausche, Mansfield, McClellan, Monroney, Moss, Russell (S. C.), Russell (Ga.), Smathers, Sparkman, Stennis and Talmadge.

REPUBLICANS (29): Aiken, Allott, Bennett, Carlson, Cooper, Cotton, Curtis, Dirksen, Dominick, Fannin, Fong, Hickenlooper, Hruska, Jordan (Idaho), Kuchel, Miller, Morton, Mundt, Murphy, Pearson, Prouty, Saltonstall, Scott, Simpson, Smith, Thurmond, Tower, Williams (Del.) and Young (N. D.).

AGAINST THE AMENDMENT: 38

DEMOCRATS (35): Anderson, Bass, Bayh, Brewster, Burdick, Clark, Douglas, Gore, Hart, Hartke, Inouye, Jackson, Kennedy (Mass.), Kennedy (N. Y.), Long (Mo.), Magnuson, McCarthy, McGee, McGovern, McIntyre, Metcalf, Mondale, Montoya, Morse, Muskie, Nelson, Pastore, Pell, Proxmire, Randolph, Ribicoff, Tydings, Williams (N. J.), Yarborough and Young (Ohio).

REPUBLICANS (3): Boggs, Case and Javits.

Paired for the amendment: Long (La.) (D) and Symington (D)

Paired against the amendment: McNamara (D). One pair against offsets two for.

Not voting, but announced for: Gruening (D)

Not voting but announced against: Dodd (D) and Neuberger (D)

Not voting and not announced: Robertson (D)

Does the IRS Discriminate?

By REP. CHARLES GUBSER (R.-Calif.)

In previous columns I have mentioned the potential danger to freedom when government agencies have the power to exert arbitrary control over the press, radio and television.

The so-called "Fairness Doctrine" which obligates broadcasters to give equal time to those who disagree with a paid broadcast is still controversial and recently I have received considerable mail protesting the ban of conservative broadcasts by Dr. Carl McIntire.

Now the Internal Revenue Service is involved in a similar controversy. It has moved to revoke the tax-exempt status of the Christian Crusade (Christian Echoes Ministry, Inc.) of the famous and controversial Dr. Billy James Hargis on grounds that "a substantial part" of his activity is "influencing legislation."

Recently Rev. Hargis wrote a letter to every congressman, comparing his activity to that of other tax-exempt religious organizations. I quote portions of it here, not for the purpose of judging the question of whether the Christian Crusade deserves tax exemption, but because it raises a related issue which is important.

Rev. Hargis writes: "Although the Christian Echoes Ministry, Inc., did not endorse a political party or candidate in the 1964 election, other similar tax-exempt groups most certainly did. *Christian Century* magazine, owned and operated by the tax-exempt Christian Century Foundation, endorsed the candidacy of Mr. Johnson. . .as did *Motive* magazine, the official tax-exempt publication of the Methodist Student Movement; and *Christianity and Crisis,* published by the executive offices of the tax-exempt Union Theological Seminary of New York. Furthermore, the *Register,* the publication of the tax-exempt Chicago Theological Seminary, in its September 1964 issue, endorsed the candidacy of Johnson, opposing Goldwater. . . .the tax-exempt status of these organizations. . .has not been questioned.

". . .the House Committee on Un-American Activities has published a 'Guide to Subversive Organizations'. . . . On page 108, they have listed as a Communist front the Metropolitan Music School. In a letter dated Oct. 12, 1965, Sheldon S. Cohen, commissioner of Internal Revenue Service, admitted that this. . .school enjoys full tax-exempt status.

"My question is—has justice become a one-edged sword which attacks opposing viewpoints but gives immunity to viewpoints friendly to the Administration in power?. . . There is not a member of Congress who is unaware of the lobbying activities of the National Council of Churches. Yet it is not the National Council of Churches that is under attack by the Internal Revenue Service. It is the Christian Echoes Ministry, Inc."

Then Rev. Hargis concludes: "Whether you are liberal, conservative, Republican or Democrat is beside the point. The important thing is, will ministers be allowed freedom of speech in the future, regardless of their viewpoints. . . or will only those ministers friendly to the reigning administration be allowed such freedom?"

Without the facts, I couldn't pass judgment on the justice of Rev. Hargis' claim for tax exemption. But he has raised a significant question.

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